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THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR RULERS.

Substance of a Discourse on the day of the National Thanksgiving, August 6, 1863, at Peru, (N. Y.) Communicated for the Principia.

BY REV. M. THACHER.

Exodus 32:35. And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made.

"What a man does by another he does by himselt." This maxim is true in morals, in religion, in politics, and in law. If I employ a man to commit murder, we are both murderers; and I may be the more guilty of the

If an agent, through my instructions, dispenses a gift of charity; it is the same as if it were dispensed with my own hand. If a drunken stage-driver upset the coach, or the carelessness of an engineer bring cars in collision, to the damage of passengers; the proprietors, or corporation are holden responsible for the injuries. If, by my casting vote, or the aid of my suffrage, men are placed in office, who wrongfully plunge the country into a wicked war; my hand has had a primary agency in the shedding of blood.

On this principle, God held the Hebrews responsible for the conduct of Aaron, in fashioning the golden calf. Moses, the servant of God, had been many days in Mount Sinai, receiving the Divine Law. The people, becoming impatient, pretended to despair of his return. They accordingly demanded of Aaron to make them gods to go before them, avowing their purpose to go back into Egypt.

And when the people saw that Moses delaved to come down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron. and said unto him, Up, make us gods to go before us, for as for this Moses, who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, break off the golden ear-rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. And all the people broke off the golden ear-rings, which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron. And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, these be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it, and said, to morrow is a feast to the Lord. And they rose up, early on on the morrow, and offered burnt-offerings, and brought peace-offering, and the people sat down to eat, and to drink, and rose up to

This surprising stupidity, gross idolatry, and flagrant rebellion, greatly incensed the Great Jehovah, and he threatened to destroy the whole nation. Moses, however, interceded and averted the impending destruction. But God still remembered their iniquity and visited them with terrible judgments. Aaron was, at that time, a prince and a ruler; and God held both him and the people as exceedingly culpable.

And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made."

The people instigated Aaron and furnished him with the materials, and he was their willing tool in fashioning the idol, and conducting their idoltarous sacrifices. For Aaron's wickedness and folly, God held the people accountable, and blamed them as really as he blamed him. From the text in its connexion, then, the following doctrine is clear and legi-

God holds the people accountable for the official conduct of their rulers.

Of this sentiment I propose to offer both proof and reasons.

1. PROOFS OF THE FACT.

God does hold the people accountable for the official conduct of their rulers.

This was certain in the case of Aaron and the Hebrews, when he made the golden calf. God held them responsible for what he did, and punished them accordingly. "And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made.'

If we trace the history of that nation onward, even to the latest period, we shall find, that God ever considered and treated the people as doing what was done by their rulers. This was so, not only in the time of Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, but also in the time of the judges and kings. When the rulers did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, he blessed and prospered the whole nation; but when they wrought wickedness, the whole nation was cursed. When Jeroboham the son of Nehat " made Israel to sin," the whole people were held responsible for his idolatry, and other abominations, and suffered the direful consequences. Jeroboham was an agent as well as an index of their wickedness, and God punished them accordingly.

In the reigns of good Hezekiah, and the youthful Josiah, God prospered the whole kingdom of Judah, and bestowed on the people peculiar marks of his favor. But Manasseh filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, God held the people responsible for his cruelty, and finally visited his iniquity upon their guilty heads. Hence it is written, " And the Lord spake by his servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these abominations, and hath done wickedly above all that the Amorites did, who were before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols; therefore, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I am bringing such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth it, both his ears shall tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab, and I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it up side down. And I will forsake the remnant of mine inheritance, and deliver them into the hand of their enemies, and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies ; because they have done that which is evil in my sight, and have provoked me to anger, since the day their fathers came out of the land of Egypt, even unto this day. Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood, very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another: beside his sin wherewith he made Judah to sin, in doing that which was evil in the sight of the Lord." Again, of Jerusalem, in the days of another wicked king, when the city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, it is written: And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord. which he spake by his servants the prophets. Surely at the commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did, and also for the innocent blood that he shed, (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood.) which the Lord would not par-

It is evident from all these circumstances and declarations, that God held the people of Israel and the Jewish nation accountable for the conduct of their rulers. This was true in every generation. When the rulers were righteous, the people were blessed; when their rulers were wicked, the people were cursed.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified. the Jews were considered as doing what was done by their rulers. Although their rulers condemned and delivered up the Savior to be crucified, the apostles said unto the people, "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and fore-knowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain.

The testimony of the Holy Scriptures is abundant and unequivocal, that God holds the people accountable for the conduct of their rulers, and rewards or punishes them accord-

I will now assign some reasons why God

holds the people accountable for the conduct God never acts without reason, and the rea-

sons of his conduct are always infinitely wise, just, and benevolent. He never deals unjustly with either nations or individuals.

Here, then, I observe:

the people. The people first consent to be ates from them, in the first instance, as a representative government, or a pure democracy. If the great body of the people did not consent, either tacitly, or explicitly, to be ruled by one form of government instead of another; it is evident that no specific form of government would be either fixed or sustained. The state of community would be a complete anarchy. Government, therefore, must emanate from the people, and if government emanates from the people, the people are accountable for the conduct of their rulers.

The conduct of Saul, king of Israel, was forehand, that it would be despotic. Yet they would not be denied a king, and the regal government as really emanated from the people as the preceding Theocracy. What is done by the rulers, then, is done by the people, as the people were said to make the calf

which Aaron made. 2. Rulers are, in a most important sense, the servants of the people. This will follow from the principles already stated. If government originally emanates from the people, it is at the option of the people who shall legislate, or execute the laws enacted. It is the legitimate office of rulers to execute the will of the people, so far as it is in accordance with equity. This ought be the desire of the people, especially in an elective government. Those only should be appointed to office, who will seek the public good. It is evident from the nature of the relation, that rulers are created for the people, and not the people for the rulers. The hereditary, divine right of kings, the old doctrine of despots, is an absurdity. Government is designed to secure the safety of the people, and not the domination of arbitrary power. The first principles of government are accurately defined in the Declaration of American Independence : " All men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These principles have the sanction of the Holy. Scriptures, which testify, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth,"

These elementary truths being self-evident. rulers is the property of the whole people, and them. not the service of the people the property of rulers. Even in monarchical governments this principle ought to be exemplified; and whenever it is manifest, that the ruler does not seek the highest good of the whole population he ought to be constitutionally displaced, and extreme cases of this kind, may warrant a revolution. Upon this grand element our fathers acted, in renouncing their allegiance to the British Crown, and in achieving our national independence by force of arms. Hence in the same declaration of self-evident truths they assert, "that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or abolish it, foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem

This recognition is in accordance with " common law," which is nothing more nor less than common sense. The master is always accredited, or amenable for the benefit or injury God may justly hold the people amenable for made." the official acts of their rulers. For, whatever is officially done by their rulers, the people are to be considered as doing themselves.

3. God holds the people accountable for the official conduct of their rulers, because it is in the power of the people to discountenance or displace their rulers, when they do not rule in the fear of God.

As government originally emanates from

1. That God justly holds the people ac- discountenance all kinds of wickedness in their guilt resting upon our country, on account countable for the conduct of their rulers, be- public servants. Even if Aaron had been discause human government originally emanates posed to make the golden calf, without the infrom the people. This is true, whatever may stigation or demand of the people, it would be the form of government. Even in a despot- have been the right and duty of the people to ism, the government originally emanates from | prevent it, and so to prevent the commission of | fore God, for electing to offices of power and a great sin. The people are bound to set their governed, and if they consent to be governed faces steadfastly against every kind of wickby a despot, such government as really eman- edness; and when they do this toward their most important stations, men of infidel sentirulers, they free themselves from the pollu- ments, who have had no more regard to the tion of iniquity, which must, otherwise, be law of God, than "Jeroboham, the son of Nebat, found in their skirts. Although rulers are termed "powers that be" - "ordained of God," to whom we should be subject for conscience' sake; and though we are not to encourage partisan opposition or changes in either legislation or administration for trifling causes, yet no one is bound to obey a wicked statute, or to do that which is in itself wrong. Individuals, in various circumstances, and under arbitrary power, may be bound to submit to the penalty of a statute which they cannot conoften despotic, and God told the people, be- scientiously obey; but no one has the right to obey a statute which is contrary to the law

> If also the people generally, without distinction of party, would unitedly and stead- the great body of the people allow the legislafastly set their faces againt evil, it would have tive, administrative, and judiciary departments the desired effect upon their rulers, who would not dare to resist the united testimony of the whole population. Even kings and emperors, however absolute in authority, could not stand against the united voice of the people. Such sequence. an example we have recorded in the Sacred Volume. Saul, the King of Israel, was an absolute monarch, and his edicts were sometimes arbitrary and tyrannical; but he did not dare to withstand the voice of the people, who interposed to rescue Jonathan, unjustly doomed o death, for having tasted a little honey. And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan lie, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there shail not one hair of his head fall to the ground: for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not. The people were in the right, and Saul was in the wrong; and hence they did right to withstand him, and effectually resist the execution of his bloody, unjust, and cruel edict.

It is in the power of the whole people to counteract the influence of wicked rulers; and it is always their duty to remonstrate and interpose, when they see their public servants pling upon the rights of humanity. In an elective government, the people are morally bound to seize the first opportunity constitutionally to remove corrupt rulers from office.

As this power rests in the hands of the peochise, God may justly hold them accountable it is equally evident, that the public service of for the public acts of those who rule over

4. God justly holds the people accountable for the official conduct of their rulers, because the character of rulers is generally a pretty fair index to the character of the people. We have the right to consider this as a criterion, especially under an elective government. It is reasonable to expect that'a wise, intelligent. and virtuous people will elect wise, intelligent and virtuous rulers; but when the people are corrupt, they will elect rulers like themselves. The stream never rises higher than the fountain: and we have no reason to expect that the rulers will be any better than the people. When, therefore, rulers act wickedly, we have the right to infer, that the people who elected and to institute a new government, laying its and sustain them, approve of their wicked conduct. If the Hebrews had not been corrupt, they would not have induced Aaron to measure, they would have condemned and protested against it, at once, and put him to silence and to shame.

It was, then, in the highest degree, proper and just for God to hold the people accountdone by his servant. Whatever is done by his able, as he did, when Aaron made the calf; servant, or agent, is considered as being done and to punish them, as declared in the words by himself. In a moral view, then, and upon of our text. "And the Lord plagued the peoprinciples, which are universally acknowledged, ple, because they made the calf which Aaron

The subject of this discourse is adapted to the present and past state of our country. It cannot be truthfully denied, that now, for more than two years, we have been suffering the terrible judgments of a civil war, as a punishment of our aggravated and enormous national sins. 'The Lord is plaguing the people, because they made the oalf which Aaron made.' the people, it is in the power of the people to There is a very great and terrible amount of of view. God has a controversy with us, as a

both of the corruption of the people and the official acts of those whom they have invested

The people have been highly culpable, betrust, unprincipled and wicked men. In many instances, they have placed in the highest and

If it be objected, in extenuation, that wicked rulers have not been elected by the great body of the people, but by this, that, or the other political party, the case is not changed for the better, but for the worse. Society is never in a more corrupt or dangerous condition, than when cut up and divided into parties, so as to throw the interests and safety of the public into the hands of demagogues. No man can be a patriot or a philanthropist, who has become more attached to a party than to his country, any more than a man can be a Christian, who is more attached to a sect than he is to the kingdom of Christ. When, therefore, of the government to be corrupted and perverted by unprincipled demagogues and selfish politicians, they are accountable and responsible for the mischief which they suffer in con-

Now there is nothing more evident under the beams of a meridian sun, than that corrupt and partizan politicians of the North, combined with the oligarchy of the South, have brought upon our country this terrible calamity of treason, rebellion, and civil war. What renders this iniquity still more enormous, it has been perpetrated under the spurious guise and ridiculously false profession of Democracy! No one acting with the oligarchy of the South, could be a Democrat, any more than Pharaoh, the tyrant of Egypt. It is as impossible for a slaveholder to be either a Republican or a Democrat, as it is for Satan to be an angel of light and love. The principles of the Slave Code are as antagonistic to the principles of a free government, as despotism is to genuine Christian Democracy; and they are as directly opposed to all the principles of right and justice inculcated in the Bible, as the light, and purity, and love of heaven are acting contrary to the law of God, and tram- to the darkness, and impurity, and hatred of

But, such is the terrible excise of treasure, and devastation, and blood, which corrupt men and corrupt principles have brought upon the land; and the judgment has come home to ple, especially if they enjoy the elective fran- our own doors; and the calamity settles deep in the bosoms of our own families

Nor has the same evil spirit ceased its work by corrupt men of the North.

But though God plagues the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made, he is so ordering and controlling events, by his holy Providence, as to give occasion for devout thanksgiving and praise. The very prolixity of the war, and the barbarities perpetrated by the rebels, have opened thousands of eyes, which had the war been speedily terminated, had still remained closed. Thousands and thousands have been brought to embrace, and had they his ability, would at once express the noble sentiment of General Butler, in his Address to the citizens of New Orleans.

"There is but one thing, that, at this hour, stands between you and the government, and that is slavery. The institution, cursed of God, which has taken its last refuge here, in The institution, cursed of His Providence, will be rooted out, as the tares from the wheat, although the wheat be most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

But, since rulers are servants of the people, it is perfectly reasonable for God to hold the people accountable for the official acts of their ence and observation have formed the conviction that the existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety of either yourselves or the Union. As the system has gradually grown to its present huge dimensions, it would be best if it were gradually removed; but it is better that it should be taken out at once, political, and family relations of your country. I am speaking with no philanthropic views as regards the slave, but simply of the effect of slavery on the master. See for yourselves Look around you, and say whether this saddening, deadening influence has not all but destroyed the very framework of your soci-

Such is the language of General Butler, as a sagacious politician, and a brave, noble-minded military officer. Let it be added, in the language of another, occupying the post of a watchman on Zion's walls :

"But for Christians there is a higher point

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nation, for aiding and abetting this sin, and is come, that we must seek to make the freed-trade, with all its sickening horrors, has been difference between no intent at all, and any commanding us, with a voice that shakes both earth and heaven, 'to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

For The Principia.

WORK FOR THE FREEDMEN.

An Anniversary Meeting of the American Missionary Association, was held in the Tre-mont Temple, Boston, May 25th. The house whatever may be said about the slave, the Freedman is not without friends in New Eng-

The devotional exercises were conducted by the Rev. David Thurston, President. It was worth going some distance to see a whitehaired man of more than four score years, standing straight as an oak, and reading with-

The financial statement of the Society showed that \$38,300, had been received in seven and a half months, of the present fiscal year, against little more than \$57,000, for the whole previous year. More than \$50,000 worth of clothes had also been sent to the Freedmen through the agency of the Associa-

Rev. M. E. Strieby has been elected a Secretary, and entered upon the work.

The Foreign missions of the Association, five in number, showed nothing of unusual interest. The most important work seems now to be among the

FREEDMEN.

The following are extracts from the state ments read by Secretary Whipple.

At the breaking out of the great rebellion, this Association entered immediately upon the work of giving instruction to the slay s in Rebel States, first by supplying books to soldiers, and then by sending missionaries and teachers to them.

Its first ordained missionary to them commenced at Fortress Monroe, Serv. 1861. The work has continued to spread, and now there are 180 missionaries and teachers among them. located on the Atlantic side, at Washington, Arlington Heights, and elsewhere near the seat of Government, at Harper's Ferry, Fortress Monroe, Hampton, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Ferry Point, &c., Virginia; Newbern, Beaufort, Morehead City, Roanoke Island, &c., North Caro-lina; and at Beaufort, Hilton Head, and other islands, South Carolina. In the middle portion of the country at Cairo, III., Columbus, Ky., and Nashville, Tenn.; in Kansas and some adjacent parts of Missouri; at St. Louis and along the line of the Mi sissippi, at Mem; his. Natchez, Helena, Little Rock, &c.; and at Port Hudson, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans, La.

The oldest school is at Hampton, Va., and was probably never surpassed by any school for whites in that place. The schools at Norfolk are eminently successful; In these and the prosperous farm schools on land formerly oward by Gov. Wise and others, there is a large corps of very superior teachers several of whom are colored. An Orphan Asylum, under care of Miss R. G. C. Patton, has been opened at Ferry Point, between Norfolk and Portsmouth

Capt. Winder, Supt. of Freedmen at Fortress Monroe, says, it is believed, that a larger proportion of the colored population in Eastern Virginia can now read, than of the white.

The Freedmen in North Carolina are under the general superintendence of Rev. Horace The educational operations in that State have been much interrupted by rebel

But notwithstanding these embarrassments the success of the whole enterprise in North

Carolina has been marked.

In South Carolina the Association has five ordained missionaries and eighteen teachers. A Free Will Baptist Church of 180 members was organized in April under the direction of Rev. E. Knowlton of Maine, and is now under the care of Rev. W. F. Eaton, under commission of the Association. An arrangement has been made with their Home Mis. Soc., for supporting missionaries and teachers among the Freedman, through the Λ . M. Λ .

The colored people are prospering; a few of them have paid for valuable farms.

In Kansas, where there are five thousand freedmen, several schools have been established.

lished under the general care of Rev. J. W. Fox and others. Along the Mississippi, from St. Louis to New

Orleans, the work has been one of great inter-At St. Louis, a movement has commenced

for the permanent establishment of free schools for the whole colored population. A few prominent men of the city are on the board of education, with a number of the people them-Rev. Geo. Candee, a missionary of the A. M. A., is acting as General Superintendent of the Schools. The movement, an exceed ingly important one, embraces large prospec-

At New Orleans, a system of district schools, mainly on a plan suggested by Dr. Hubbs, sent out by the A. M. A, has been put in operation by Gen. Banks, under a Board of Education, of which Dr. II. is a member. It is very comprehensive in its scope, intending to make provision for the education of all the colored people in its reach. The system is to be sustained by a tax; if it succeeds, the results will

A Union Sabbath School has been commenced among the colored people, at New Orleans, by Government officers and teachers of the Association. It already numbers over eight hundred, of whom nearly one fifth are whites. At Baton Rouge there are five teachers. The school opened by Mr. Tucker there, is large and flourishing. A few teachers have been assigned to the soldiers of the Corps d'Afrique, at Port Hudson and elsewhere.

thanks of the Association are given to the American Bible Society for its large grants of Bibles and Testaments. They have freely given to aid in placing a Bible or Testament in every household to be reached by missionaries and teachers.

Government has furnished free transportation for missionaries, and supplies for freedmen. Gen. Grant, and the heads of milithe efforts to supply the physical, intellectual,

and spiritual wants of the freedmen. The statement concludes as follows: An immense work is opening before the Christians of the United States, demanded alike by humanity, Christianity, love of country, and the instincts of self preservation. Whatever we would have our posterity be-

men. They are a people prepared to our hand for the work of Christian benevolence. They are among us, and will remain here, for our weal or for our woe, according to the measure of justice, mercy, and love which we shall henceforth mete out to them.

The American Missionary Association, evangelical in character, prepared of God for this work, looks to the Christians and philanthrepists of the whole country for their co-operation. The people are in physical want. Clothing for their destitution can be distributed by its nearly two hundred agents in the field They need Christian ministers, teachers, and selors; the Association stands ready to send them, as means are furnished by churches and friends. Any church, by the payment of about \$200, may select their own missionary or teacher, to be sent by the Asso-ciation, and report directly to the churches, thus making them doubly blest. The work demands at least forty thousand dollars more. by the first of October, and after that more than double the number of laborers now employed. Brethren and friends, the cause is yours; shall it go forward and prosper?

The Rev. S. W. Magiil, of Conn., made the first speech. He had visited several depart-

of the Society's labors among the freedmen, and he bore testimeny to the repid pro gress of the negro, even the adult negro, in the study of letters. Born and reared in the South, he was able to speak confidently of the dack man, as having a higher degree of intel-

ligence than they receive credit for.

Rev. J. W. Aivord, Sec. of the Am. Tract
Sec., Buston, told of some things be had seen of the progress of the freedmen in their schools and in their labors. He had seen from eighty to one humbred plows managed by their hands; and they were bringing to light the sub-soil of Virginia, 'the sacred soil of Vir-ginia,' kept sacred of God for the use of the Rev. Dr. Kirk spoke next. heartily endorsed the Association and this its great work. The army of the Union might be the most important missionary field just now but that, he thought, would be temporary up his mind not to keep the soldiers down in Virginia a great while, and he trusted that a greater than Gen Grant meant the same. Let as work for the freedmen. They are now doing the country good service as soldiers, and will be entitled to vote at the ballot box, as good citizens.

Rev. Heary Ward Beecher was received with much applause. He commenced his speech by suggesting that persons who had been actively engaged in the work, right among the freedmen, would be the most fit speakers on this occasion; and yet he thought he had some right to be heard on the platform of a Society working in their behalf, He thanked God he had lived to see such a day as this, when the whole Christian church seemed uniting in labors to give the Gospe and citizenship to the black man. For a quarter of a century we had been educating the conscience of the North, and little by little the improvement had been manifest, until at eigth the time came, when the South could no longer endure the Northern conscience, and then followed secession, war, and emancipaon, emancipation of the black man of South, and the white man of the North. Now. thank God, we are free, and can speak freely in behalf of the freedom of the black man, and can weigh his value in the scales of the sanc tuary, as we had weighed the value of the Chinaman, or any other heathen, in time past, He rejoiced that the time had come when olored man could do and be just what God had fitted him for. He has proved himself to be a good soldier, and the man who can give himself a free will offering for liberty and astitution, has a good right to the ballot box. When this war is ended, we must seek for peace and safety for our nation, in educa-tion and religion. The church and the school tion and religion. The church and the so house must be the symbols of our future.

The exercises were closed by singing the doxology, and the benediction.

FROM AFRICA.

[Correspondence of the Principia.] GOOD HOPE, MENDI MISSION, } WEST AFRICA, April 8th, 1864.

Dear Brother Goodell :- I need not tell you we often look anxiously towards America,sometimes in hope and joy, and anon in fear and sorrow, as the prospects of freedom brighten or darken. We praise God for what has been accomplished, -- for the escape of thousands of poor prisoners from the house of bondage. Dreadful as is the scourge that rests on our dear native land, we cannot pray that it may pass off till every chain is broken, and every slave a freeman! God speed that blessed day, and strengthen those who toil to bring it nigh!

Oh! that sad, sad stain of slavery, which has so long marred our fine country. It has been the taunt and by-word of the nations, and a great hindrance to the spread of the gospel by American missionaries. I know not how many times, since I have been in Africa, I have been told, in substance: "You Americans pretend to be very much interested in Africa, but how is it that you have slaves?" And what can I answer? It is almost impossible to make them understand that we, as individuals, are not to blame for slavery in America; that we hate it, and pray and labor for its abolition. This great fact is true, they argue-America professes to be a Christian country; she sends out missionaries to convert the heathen, and at the same time she cherishes one of the worst of heathen crimes. And so the cause of missions suffers,-suffer from that dark and damning sin that some profeseed ministers of Jesus seek to uphold from the blessed Bible! O, my native land, how long shall thy fair fame be tarnished by even the tary departments, generally, have ordered that remnants of slavery? Thy sons and daughters every reasonable facility should be given to over the sea love thee, and look to thee in this hour of God's preparing to say, "Henceforth

> tasted more bitterly the evil results of slavery how long it will live without a brain. If it than any other part of the world. The slave- was the other, then the case is worse, by the invaders to quit the state of slavery, and has

Shall they look in vain?

carried on, from here, for centuries. These rivers and bays have been the scene of more awful tragedies, have echoed to wilder wails of agony and despair than the fertile brain of a novelist ever imagined. Most of these the fear of being "hired for life" or any other scenes will be revealed only at the judgmentseat, but here and there the veil has been lifted, and given us such glimpses as have risk the counsel which his apprehensions made the blood curdle in our veins. There is hardly a point along this coast, for thousands of ern States should fight as little as they can bemiles, that has not had its slave-baracoons, its fore November. gangs of chained captives, and its slave-ship stealing in and out. Much as is known of the horrors of the slave-traffic, if its secret his tory could be written the world would be startled by the intenseness of the terrible

The country in the vicinity of this mission station was once a great depot for the slavetrade, and many are the tales of terror yet related concerning those days. As I journey on these waters in my little boat, stopping at towns and villages to repeat the "story of the cross," I often think of those dark days and awful scenes, and I bless God for what has been already wrought here.

At Victoria, some three miles from Good Hope, the famous John Newton is said to have once had a slave-factory. The spot is still pointed out whire the baracoon stood. I have often visited the place, and as I walk about those old paths I almost imagine I see again those groups of chained captives passing up from the canoe to the slavemen or crowded together in that narrow space, under a burning tropic sun, waiting for a slave-ship to come and bear them away to a life of bondage and agony. Two or three large orange-trees are still standing, which Newton is said to have planted with his own hands. He was converted on one of the Plantain Islands. about forty miles from this factory. O, the grace of God, that is sufficient to save to the uttermost! Since living amid these scenes, I have read with deeper interest those sweet hymns of Newton's, which breathe such a sense of sinfulness, and entire dependence on Jesus.

The export of slaves from West Africa is rapidly decreasing. It is estimated that only a very few thousands were shipped during Yours for Africa,

S. J. WHITON.

THE STRONGEST BATTALIONS. WHICH SIDE OUGHT TO WIN?

BY GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

The war in America is carried on with varying fortune, and will be. With the Old Man of the Sea upon his shoulders in the shape of an incapable Administration, the policy of the sufferer should be to fight as little as he can, till he gets rid of the encumbrance.

The European notions of the connexion between means and results, are scattered to the winds. It used to be presumed that when there was a certain degree of superiority in the muster-rolls of one party, the consequences, in the absence of miracle or accidents that are equivalent, might reasonably be counted on. The expectation had its known expression, in Frederic's theory of "the strong battalions." Not but there were ever and anon exceptions to the rule. Frederic's own case was one of them. But in the case in view, there appears little similarity. The friends of slavery have made the dangerous resistance, which garroters would it the chance was given them. Beyond this, there has been nothing on their part, to account for their success. They have not, so far as appears, made any new invention in the art of war, or brought anything into the field which, as was the ancient phrase, should take the opponents "captive through their eyes." They are believed to have had more than their share of the educated war-men; and something should be allowed for having lived in a constant state of virtual war with all around them. Men whose waking thoughts were on double barrels and revolvers, might be expected to have certain superiorities over the sons of peace whose lives were passed far from the crack of gun-shot.

But the wonder was, that in view of the rest of the board, all this was not got over. Popular opinion is often a magnifier; but it generalknows a flea from an elephant. It may not have been correct in believing the forces which could have been brought into the field against slavery, were numerically as two to one: but it has faith in something of the kind. And of this further fact it has no doubt at all, -that within the rebel States were a good half of souls and stalwart bodies, looking for the advent of the Northern forces, with eagerness which without danger of being profane it is difficult meetly to describe. What a position for the curious in battle, whether of serious warfare or the mimic contests with which man in all ages has delighted to counterfeit its excitements, to reflect upon and calculate! What a "book" as is the racing phrase, for a lover of the turf to make up !

All this came from one cause: without which it is inexplicable. The soul which was to direct, was absent or unwilling. It either could not or would not, take the way to remedy. not a slave shall breathe in my dominion." If it was the first, then the body politic was in the condition of the unhappy animal on whom The coast of West Africa, perhaps, has cruel anatomists try the experiment of seeing

supposable quantity of malevolent design.

Everything concentrates itself upon the present, as the road to the future. What is done cannot be undone. If a man trembling under of the shapes in which the victory of the slave power would fall upon him, were forced to suggest, it would be that cousins in the North-

[From the London Times.]

RESULTS

OF THE WAR IN AMERICA.

It is very remarkable that at this moment the most conspicuous result of the American War is a gradual elevation of the black race in ocial and political position. The Northern people, as a body, though they have obviously earnt a species of toleration for the colored race, are probably not more solicitous than formerly for the welfare or emancipation of the negro; but, as happens in all revolutions, the most thoroughgoing party has proved the most enduring, and that party is the Abolitionist party. The uncompromising zeal of the Abolitionists has lately supplied the chief incubes which the impulse which the war receives, and suffices combination with the national temper, to keep the conflict alive. That temper, how ever, in itself expresses rather an indifference to peace than an active desire to continue the war. As yet the Federals have suffered wonderfully little from the effects of the con test. Their territory has escaped the devastation of hostile armies; Conscription Acts have been averted; the money required for the war has been provided exclusively from loans; and the people, therefore, bein under no kind of pressure, could hardly be expected to forego their vision of an un-divided and matchless empire. But, though the Union sentiment, thus far, is probably undiminished, it is certainly not active, and the policy of the Democratic party, which is essentially a peace policy, might acquire some favor if it were not counteracted by the vigorous and indefatigable efforts of the Abolitionists. It may be reasonably doubted whether the politicians, under whose influence Mr. Lincoln has recently fallen, would accept the allegiance of the South with a reservation of its institutions. They know their own minds, and, as they imagine, they see their way. If the war has not brought a single State of the Confederacy back to the Union, it has, at any rate, brought many thousands of blacks out of slavery, and many free negroes into request as citizens and soldiers. Every month of the contest seems to accomplish something in this direction, and it is the very direction in which these politicians wish to see progress made. So they persevere and with better hopes, it must be admitted than any other partisans of the war. If the restoration of the Union is hopeless, the destruction of slavery is not so. In one way or another the institution seems exposed, if not to actual ruin, at all events to fundamental

In Southern language slavery used to be decribed as "involuntary servitude." If that description is to be retained, and the system lately proclaimed by General Banks is to be adopted, the abolition of slavery will not go far beyond its name. But it is hardly probable that in the scarcity of labor by which America will be visited, any duly toil need be made compulsory. The same necessity which has led to the cheerful acceptance of black soldiers, as described in our New York correspondence, will lead to the recognition of black workmen, and America is country in which a negro can squat and vege tate without the obligation of labor. naturalization of the slave in one respect will be followed by his naturalization in others: nor can any calling indeed, well be closed against a class entitled to bear arms. It is in his gradual but inevitable result that must look for the most likely solution of the problem which has bewildered statesmen and novalists alike. The slaves were nearly millions. These numbers utterly precluded any chance of deportation, such as Mr. Liucoln once conceived. The negroes of the South were Americans, and Americans they could all be actual emancipated by Mr. Lincoln's fiat, what were do? They themselves could not live without labor, nor could the country dispense with the 1 bor which they had hitherto fur nished. Then, what is to be done? General Banks has answered this question by decreeing that the emancipated slaves must work on terms which will leave their condition only a little better than before; but this was in Louisiana, a disorganized State, with a large black population and few white laborers. negroes are dispersed the difficulty will diminish, and though the North may never be able to conquer the South it may give to a vast number of slaves the oppor-tunity of escaping from Southern soil.

In justice also to the Abolitionists, it must be confessed that the extreme representatives of their party are consistent in their views. They do not, while asserting the rights of the negro, condemn him to social proscription. They accept the logical consequences of his emancipation, and have even astonished the world by the completeness of the recognitions which they have recently announced, and which

our correspondence so vividly portrays.

It is certainly remarkable that the only re sult of this extraordinary war as yet visible should be the gradual subversion of that in-stitution which, if it was the remote cause of strife, was forgotten in the first hours of conflict. Three years ago the Federal Government made no secret of its willingness to give every satisfaction to the slaveholders of the South on condition of their resuming their allegiance. In all probability the great majority of the Federal people would still-be ready to make peace on the same terms; but such a policy is necessarily lacking in vigor and while the Democrats hesitate to avow their pacific sentiments the more zealous Abolitionists have carried their standards to the front. In the meantime, by the mere course of events, the black man is pushing his way to a new position. In the North, though still rejected by the bulk of the population, he is encouraged and favored by a determined faction, and has become necessary to all. In the South he is invited by the

actually the option over a considerable por. tion of Confederate territory of becoming what he was not before. It is not much, per-haps, to be promoted from slavery to seridom, but it is a move, nevertheless, and when once accomplished will be hard to reverse We do not see, in fact, how slavery, thus dealt with on all sides, can either remain what it is or become again what it was, and that is one of the least unsatisfactory prospects of this territion

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. On Sabbath evening, May 22d, at a næeting of

the Church Anti-Slavery Society, a termon was preached in the Church of the Puritans, by the Rev. Dr. Cheeven, on the "Claims of the color. ed race before God to a republican form of gor. ernment, and the guilt and peril of denying them those rights." He took for his text the 29th, 30th, and 31st verses of the 22d of Ezekiel. and proceeded to remark that this language described the position of this nation at this time. and that it had at this moment renewed the sin for which God had stricken it. The impiety had been committed by our present Congress in its legislation against colored citizens in the Territories; against colored citizens in the South, in proposing to give the Rebels themselves a republican form of government, excluding from it the men of color, and finally in its legislation for the District of Columbia. While the Relels shot down the colored man, we also shot down his rights under circumstances of peculiar ag. gravation, under a pledge they should be free, under an assurance of protection, under a proise of republican government, as an inducen to them to peril their lives, in violation of Constitution that provides that no bill of attained er shall be passed-and yet we doom to perperual slavery the children of the present colored people by denying them the rights of free-men; and further, all this had been done while suffering under this cruel war. It was amazing God had not given the Rebel army a comm slon to enter Washington, and put to the sword the legislators guilty of such iniquities-for the Common Counc.l of Gomorrah could not have done worse. All their sufferings rose from their de-ire to spare Slavery, and if they gave it an additional four years lease, it was su uin them. This was Mr. Lincoln's policy, but God gave them space for repentance, and Run ye through the streets of Jerusalem, and seck and know if ye can find a man that executeth judgment and seeketh truth, and I will pardon you," and there was still hope for the stion if it would take up that declaration and act upon it. The speaker having concluded his sermon, re-

marked that one protest would go forth to the Congress against these national sins in a memorial which he would read to them, and leave for their adoption and signature :

* * * * * The undersigned, citizens of

the United States, deeply sensible of the dependence of our country upon God, and knowing that we cannot succeed in our present struggle without His blessing; assured, also, that we are under the divine judgment on account of our oppressive treatment of the colored race, whom we have so long enslaved, and whom we propose still to treat as a subordinate and inferior race, and to deprive them of their just rights on me count of the color of their skin-do hereby protest, in the name of God and justice, against this great wickedness. We protest against the selfishness, cruelty and ingratitude involved in the continued oppression of a class who are periling their lives for the salvation of our coun-We declare our conviction that such treatment of them on our part takes away all rightful claim of justice from our ewn cause, and exposes us, as well as our enemies, to the just wrath of Heaven, and that God will not permit us to conquer them, while thus ourselves partakers of their sins. We therefore implore the present Congress to pass such laws as shall effectually protect the rights of the colored race. We ask for the immediate emancipation of all persons still held as slaves. We demand in the name of God and humanity, and by authority of our own Constitution, that the rights acknowledged to belong to white citizens and subjects of this government be accorded and secured by law to those who are called colored citizens, and that there be no respect of persons in judgment. We demand for the colored race the rights and benefits of a republican form of government, which the right of representation is an essential element, and without which our pretended freedom is but a form of despotism. The undersigned believe that the continuance of our oppression of the colored race is the cause of our disasters and defeats, and that it is impossible for us to succeed until we cease from such oppression, and repent, and do justice. We are sure that the introduction of the color of the skin into our National legislation, as a ground of injurious discrimination, and of penalty and taint, as if for crime, is derisive of the Creator, and a violation of our Constitution, impious, cruel, barbarous, exposing us to the scorn of mankind and the anger of the Almighty. It is an enactment of the principle, by the enunciation of which the tribunal of American justice has already been so dreadfully disgraced, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect. It would be better for the country to be governed without laws, than by statutes so contrary to righteousness and jus-Believing the elevation of this race to be both a Christain duty and the wisest states-manship, and that equality before the law is essential to such elevation, we implore the present Congress, standing as they do at the begin ing of legislation on this subject, to put away and forbid such oppressive and injurious discrimination. It is the first time in our history that the attempt has been made to suborn our national legislation as the instrument of civil injustice on account of the color of the skin; and it would be at this moment the inauguration of a great and exasperating crime. It would be the certainty of future rebellion and revolt. It would disgrace our national name. As Amer-can citizens, we pray to be relieved from the burden of such disgrace, and from the curse that must accompany such a wrong. We therefore implore your honorable body to remove from the bill providing for the States a republican form of government the clause imp disability on account of color, and to secure its privileges to all classes alike."

DEXTER FAIRBANK, esq., then moved the adop-tion of the memorial, which was seconded by EDWD. GILBERT, esq., and carried unanimously The bendiction was then pronounced, and the

congregation separated.

NEWSPAPER ilosophy, shrev ess, pleasantess, ness is needed to to newspaper de cimen of the Home Journ "Dear Sir-In

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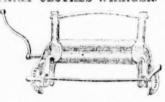
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THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION.

[Editorial Correspondence]

The Cleveland Convention is an accomplished fact-and a signal success. So far from proving, as its opponents predicted, and as some of its friends feared, a failure, either in numbers, or in barmonious action, the result has been quite the reverse. Considering the shortness of the notice, and other unfavorable circumstances, the attendance was greater than could have been reasonably anticipated; much greater than we expected to find. The Missouri delegation was large, especially considering the distance to be travelled. Had all the loyal states been as zealous in the good cause, as those who had so severely felt the pressure of the Weed, Seward, and Blair misrule, the multitudes assembled, and the effect of it, would have been overwhelming. As it is, it must command universal respect. The presence and hearty cooperation of Ex-Governor Johnson, of Pennsylvania, and of other statesmen originally of different parties and diverse antecedents, added much to the impressiveness of the movement. Considering the various elements of which the Convention was composed, and the different and even opposite training its members had received, it was a marvel that harmony, on so many important points, was, in so good a degree, and within a space of a single day, attained. Although, on some points, the platform of resolutions was not precisely as we could have desired, and might have been made more accurrate, clear, and emphatic, yet we cannot but congratulate the friends of freedom in whose ranks we have so long labored, and, up to the present time, with such meager apparent results, upon the great strides, in the right direction, which this Convention has made, in the comparison with the position of its predecessors of the Free Soil and Republican parties; and even, at one vital point-that of a national abolition of slavery-with the Old Liberty Party itself, as at first organized, at Albany, in April 1844-the movement from whence all the subsequent anti-lavery political action of the country has sprung up.

The country is now presented with a platform of political action, in which, so far from pledging its candidates to refrain from interfering with slavery in the States, the most prominent frature is a pledge to annihilate the monster, and prevent its resurrection, in all coming

Though the mode of doing this, is less speedy, direct, and easy than-in our judgment-might have been adopted, yet we were satisfied that the resolution to do the thing was so deeply seated, that the men and the new party pledged to it, would discover, ere long, the best and most speedy method of doing it.

Instead of a plan of reconstructing the Union. providing carefully for the future existence of slavery, as in the Amnesty Proclamation of President Lincoln (assuming as he does the power of deciding the question by his mere fiat), we have a platform that distinctly repudiates such a reconstruction with slavery. and denies the Constitutional power of the President to decree it.

We have a platform that, by conceding all that can reasonably be demanded, in favor of freedom of the press, the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, &c., disarms the copperhead faction of their chief weapons, and makes the loyal party symetrical, as the party of liberty. for all men.

By absorbing all the anti-slavery and genuine loyalty of the "War Democrats"-removing them from the temptation of going back into the arms of the copperhead Democracy. .the present movement has dealt, as we trust, a stunning blow, to that despicable and traitorous faction; a blow that will, we think, be felt at the proposed Democratic Convention at Chicago, quite as severely as at the Lincoln Convention at Baltimore. The fear of helping the copperheads by the action at Cleveland may therefore be dismissed. If anything can kill the copperheadism proper of the Vallandigham school and the semi-copperhead conservatism of the Weed, Seward, and Blair school, the dose prepared at Cleveland by this Convention will be likely to do the job.

As to the nominations, that of Gen. FREMONT to the Presidency was evidently the predetermination of nearly all the members of the Convention. The mention of Gen. GRANT, elicited one or two men, after the adoption of the plat- of "ifs" upon either one of which might, very | So the Times considers the two cases paral-

form, to postpone the nomination, elicited only possibly, be suspended, the question whether derision. The nomination of Gen. Cochrane, for the Vice Presidency, was a new idea, we presume, to most of the Convention. The names of B. Gratz Brown and of Gen. Butler were mentioned. But, considering the Democratic element of the Convention, and the wishes of its members, the nomination of Gen. Cochrane was acquiesced in, by the Convention.

On the whole we thank God and take cour age. There is now an opportunity for the friends of freedom to labor with a fair prospect of success. The wider diffusion of correct information and sound principles through the press, is now the main work before them, and the effective prosecution of this work devolves on themselves.

It may be well to add that the expression that " slavery is dead," in one of the resolutions, was warmly opposed in the Convention, but the phrase was explained to mean that it was legally dead, and it was urged that this should be affirmed, lest the defenders of slavery should excuse their protection of it, on the ground of its legal validity and the obligations and necessities thereby imposed.

Exceptions were also taken to the proposed amendment of the Constitution as implyingt he pro-slavery character of the" Constitution as it

On both these topics it was our privilege to make a few brief remarks, and to propose amendments. But the haste to finish the business, precluded time for proper discussion. And the vote, being pressed, the Ayes and Noes were so nearly equally divided that some of our friends thought that if a division had been called for, and a count made, the amendments we proposed would have been carried. Be this as it may, it was a close vote.

THE ANTICIPATED COALITION.

We have foreseen and predicted that if the Lincoln nomination is to be pushed forward, it will be by a coalition with the Sham " War Democrats," among whom Gov. Seymour in this State is prime leader. The following is the first public annunciation of the fact that has come to our notice. That the real War Democrats are especially averse to Lincoln, and that they were not consulted by the " Republican" Committee that called the Baltimore Convention, no one will deny. It is evident from the meagre account that follows that the meeting was in the Lincoln interestthat such names as Stanton, Dix, Butler, D. S. Dickinson, &c., were not among them nor of them, therefore it was necessary, as a matter of policy, to speak respectfully of them. Of Gov. Seumour there was no neces sity of their saying anything. Very evidently they did not rank him in the same category with those other names. Of John Cochrane and other real war democrats, whose names were appended to the Call for the Convenion at Cleveland, they would, of course, have nothing to say. Thurlow Weed knows how to engineer operations of this kind.

Very evidently the movement is a demo cratic Conservative (Copperhead) movement in favor of Lincoln.

Yet we are told to vote for Lincoln to keep out the Copperheads!

From the Tribuse.

Democratic State Convention.

SYRACUSE, Friday, May 27, 1864. The State Committee of the War Democracy of New York, which has been in session for a lay or two past, has adjourned, after appointing committees on an address and plan of organization. The next meeting of the Comwhen the Sub-Committee will make their re-

The meeting was very enthusiastic, and the members united in their determination to sup-port the Union candidates to be nominated at preference for Abraham Lincoln, while warmly ecognizing and eulogizing the patriotism of secretary Stanton, Gens. Dix and Butler, Secretary Stanton, Gens. Dix and Butler, Daniel S. Dickinson, Lyman Tremaine, James T. Brady, John Conness, and other eminent War Democrats.

The meeting of the State Committee was also attended by the leading War Democrats from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and nearly all of the New England States.

LOGIC WITH "IFS."

The N. Y. Times, in noticing the several ealls for the Cleveland Convention, says,

And the "things demanded" as the result

of the movement are declared to be (1) the immediate extinction of slavery thoughout the whole United States by Congressional action; (2) the 'absolute equality of all men before the law, without regard to race or color," and (3) the "execution with vigor of the law for confiscating the property of the rebels. If our armies succeed in conquering the rebel armies, the Emancipation Proclamation will terminate the existence of slavery, unless declared invalid by the Supreme Court,-and any action Congress might take, except through an amendment of the Constitution, would be exposed to that peril also. If we do not conquer the rebel armies, nothing that Presidents, Congresses, Cleveland Conventions, or Rev. Dr. Cheever can do, will secure the "immediate extinction" of slavery. If slavery is abolished, all men, black or white, will be "equal before the law,"—whether Mr. Fremont is elected President or not. And as to confiscating rebel property, the first thing to be done is to get hold of it. The Cleveland Conventionists are unquestionably sincere and zealous in their desire to seize it,-but we do not see that they have any plan for doing it any more rapidly than the Government and Gen. Grant are doing

All this sounds very plausibly, to be sure. no appreciable response, and the proposal of But the whole argument reposes upon a series ple."-N. Y. Times.

we are to have a President who will do something to "control circumstances" or whether. as in the case of President Lincoln (by his own confession) he is wholly controlled by them.

Whether "our armies succeed in conquering the rebel armies," may depend, vitally, upon the character and policy of the President. Whether "slavery is abolished" will probably depend much upon the decision of the Presidential question, which will determine whether the Amnesty Proclamation is to be repeated, or kept in form. Whether we ever "get hold of rebel property " or not, will probably depend much upon the treatment that rebels, and loyal men, colored men especially, shall receive from our government, particularly from our President, and his appointees.

If the Times belives in its, own logic, let it practice upon it, and tell its readers, explicitly, rather than by insinuation, that, in respect to all these vital issues, it makes no manner of difference who we elect for President, and whether the nominee of the Baltimore Convention be supported by the people or not.

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letter from our respected correspondent in England should be pondered by the people. We may be assured that it conveys the sentiment with which our real friends in Great Britain regard our struggle. Our correspondent cannot be filled with greater amazement than ourselves, in seeing the infatuation that proposes to give a four year's longer lease of this struggle to the "incompetency that already has brought us to the verge of ruin. May God preserve us! He is the Judge, who putteth down one and setteth up another.

KLIOT VALE, BLACKHEATH, London, S. E, May 17, 1864.

The aspirations of the enemies of America are concentrated on a four-years prolongation of the old hopelessness. There is no denying the enemies are wise in their generation. Everybody who takes counsel of an enemy, will have the chance of being caually well served.

Go over the facts from the first outbreak of the rebellion, and see how it has been handled. comparing with what might have been. which there is no demand for that prescience which is manifestly denied to man; for a fair adjudication of how much that was done, and how much that was let alone, came within the limits of what experience, which is God's way of letting in light to human minds, had made everybody responsible for eschewing or for practising.

rch through the world's history and see whether the like of it is told in any story since the world began. There have been rebellions that have been put down, and others that have been successful. But never was there a rebellion on grounds odious to the human race with a good half of the residents hoping for the advent of the lawful power, and something like double forces on the honest side, which was nursed and dandled into four years life because the managers on the other side could no or would not find the way to deal with it. The thing is a monstrosity on earth, and the proposal is for securing its duration four ye more. It is on this all eyes should be directed and there is no use in wailing over the past, except as it may bear upon this frightful fu-

Would there be any doubt about the matter if it occurred in any of the other walks of life? If any minor banditti, for example, had been setting law and order at defiance, and the true mea imprisoned within their boundaries were showing their hands over the battlements and praying for deliverance? And the posse comitatus of the country is to be kept back or thrown away where surest to have no success, for the reason forsooth, that foreign friends of the outlaws have told you that it would be decidedly unpleasant to the besieged that any effective appeal should be made to the confined within their walls. Few of the Blackbeards of history

have had such luck. And now to sift this argument of the enemy's foreign friends; for the enemy himself has had more wit than to make himself responsible for putting it forward. Whether the adversary has or has not roasted alive at Fort Pillow, nobody wants to do more than finish the war with him with the least practicable amount of suffering Let out the notion that the Provost-Martial ha directions to give a taste of his powers to the first black man or white who is found killing or slaying in other than obedience to lawful command, or burning or risking any other of the five pleas of the law,—and see what comes of the alleged horrors to ensue on calling on the oppressed to help themselves. As well might Dutch William have asked the opinion of French privy-councillors, as to whether he should carry the war into Ireland on a great scale, or refrain for fear of being very disagreeable to the enemy.

So much for what is to be done. The thing

just now is to make sure of the men that will do it. In all of which, let us hope to be

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

"FALSE ISSUES AND A FANATICAL SPIRIT."

"Slavery died by over-doing itself. Antislavery, if left to some of its friends, would perish in the same manner. Slavery was not with its own sure constitutional ground, but crusaded on needless and talse is

"There is a set of Anti-slavery men who exhibit too much of this same spirit, and are do ing quite as much in their way to hurt the cause they mean to support. They are not content to let alone the causes that are fast securing the entire abolition of slavery, but insist upon clogging them with other questions which have no legitimate connection with them. Thus, a while ago, it was undertaken to identify the abolition of slavery with the abolition of the States containing it. Now the effort is to carry universal black suffrage with emancipation, and to make the adoption of that an absolute test of Anti-slavery princi-

lel-does it? It places wickedness and rightcousness on the same level, and infers that because the former dies by over-doing itself, and exhibiting itself in its full dimensions, the latter is in danger of the same fate, and ought not to be fully developed, lest the sight of it

Well: there is no accounting for the notions of some people. We don't know but it is true that some stomachs that can digest homeopathic doses of political rectitude would nauseate at larger portions of it. "Conservatism," so-called, has its definition somewhat, if we mistake not, in this same cautious and timid reception of moral truths, especially in their inconvenient and unprofitable application. It happens, however, that in stirring times, all men are not "conservative." And when did the world ever witness a great and salutary reformation accomplished by them, or otherwise than by a triumph over them? "The causes that are fast securing the entire abolition of slavery" were all put in motion by the radicals, whom the Times criticises, and in spite of precisely such criticisms. So well is this known, that the conservators of slavery are constantly charging upon them the mischief. The Times itself im lies as much.

"Its own sure constitutional ground !" The Times here concedes that slavery was intrenched on "sure constitutional ground," until it rebelled against the Constitution. But for the radicals, then, "the causes that are fast securing the entire abolition of slavery," would never have come into existence. "On its sure constitutional ground," it would have been

USE OF HYPOPHOSPHITES IN CON-SUMPTION.

We have referred to articles in Braithwaite's Retrospect on the subject of Dr. Churchill's hypophosphites of lime, soda, potash, quinine, manganese, and other bases. We have no doubt that Winchester's preparations of the articles are the purest and most to be relied upon. And we are so well convinced of the usefulness and efficacy of these preparations, that we do not hesitate to commend a trial of them to such persons as need them whether for relief in chronic broughitis, or strengthening of the respiratory organs and the brain, and for prevention of disease where there are tendencies to pulmonary complaints. We refer our readers to the notice in our advertising columns.

THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION.

THE RADICAL DEMOCRACY Nominations by acclamation.

FOR PRESIDENT.

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT, California.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

JOHN COCHRANE.

New York

In obedience to calls already published, the RADICAL DEMOCRACY" of the country assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on Tuesday, May 31, 1864, for the purpose of nominating candidates for PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENT, to be voted for at the approaching presidential election. As the details of the proceedings have been published in full it all the daily papers, we shall give our readers only the most important parts, for purposes of reference.

ing previous, the following gentlemen were appointed a

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

Parker Pillsbury, New-Hampshire; E. Gilbert, New-York; M. C. Cary, Vermont; Karl Heintzen, Massachusetts; Major Haskell, Connecticut; Dr. Greiner, New-Jersey; N. P. Saw-yer, Pennsylvania; C. E. Moss, Missouri; E. Prusing, Illinois; B. B. Chapman, Ohio; J. P. Slibalt, Iowa; Judge Bailey, Kansas; Joseph Post, Indiana; Feldner J. Reis, Wisconsin; M. Wolf, District of Columbia.

This meeting was addressed by Gen. John Cochrane, of New-York, Ex-Gov. Johnson of Pa., and others. William Goodell, of New York, submitted a platform, and resolutions were offered by others, all of which were referred to the Committee.

TUESDAY MORNING.

The convention assembled on Tuesday morning, at Chapin Hall, the largest in the city, at 11 o'clock, and was called to order by Edward Gilbert, Esq., chairman of the national Fremont Club, of New York City, who nominated tor temporary chairman Ex-Gov. Johnson of Pennsylvania.

On motion, Mr. B. H. Brooks, of California, and Mr. Wolfe, of the District of Columbia, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion, the following were appointed a Committee on Permanent Organization: Messrs Ezra C. Andrews, of Maine, Parker

Pillsbury of New-Hampshire Stephen S. Foster, of Massachusetts, A. C. Colvin, of New-York, William Goodell, of New-York, N. P. Sawyer, of Pennsylvania, John T. Sneithen, of Mary-land, Casper Butz, of Illinois, Charles E. Moss, of Missouri, and L. D. Bailey, of Kansas.

COMMITTEE ON THE ROLL.

The following Committee was appointed to enroll the names of the delegates: Messre John A. Millard, John Outhausen, N. P. Sawyer, M. Rodman, and J. W. Alden.

The Committee on Permanent Organization then reported the following names for permanent officers of the Convention : President .- Gen. John Cochrane, of New

Vice-Presidents .- James Hill of Maine, Park. should, in like manner, become repulsive and er Pillsbury of New-Hampshire, Wm. Casey of Vermont, Edmond Tuttle of Connecticut. the Rev. Henry T. Cheever of Massachusetts. Joseph Plumb of New York, Dr. L. Greiner of New Jersey, W. G. Sneithen of Maryland, Al. fred G. Lloyd of Pennsylvania, Bird B. C. man of Ohio, Dr. Hamburg of Indiana, Ernest Prussing of Illinois, Dr. T. Olshausen of Mis. souri, Thomas P. Wright of Kentucky, J. P. Slibalt of Iowa, C. C. Foote of Michigan, Isaac Newstadtl of Wisconsin, and J. F. Legate of Kansas.

Secretaries .- Leonard Vandercar of New York, S. Wolf of the District of Columbia, James D. Owens of Pennsylvania, and Col. Charles E. Moss of Missouri.

The report was unanimously adopted.

The President was conducted to the chair by Messrs. Parker Pillsbury, of New Hamp. shire, and Col. Moss, of Missouri, who performed the ceremony of uniting radicalism with democracy in the most approved style.

The President, on taking the chair address. ed the convention at length, and was enthusiastically cheered. He then announced the following

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Thos. B. Carroll, N. Y.; K. Hennison, Mass; Francis Rodman, Mo.; Bird B. Chapman, Ohio; Dr. L. Greiner, N. J.; L. Haskell, Conn; Casper Butz, Ill.; James Dinsmore, Pa.; J. E. Hanniman, Wis.; P. Pillsbury, N. H.; L. Bailey, Kan.; C. C. Foote, Mich.; Charles Par Ind. : S. Wolf. D. C.

Recess till 3:30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention assembled in the afternoon according to adjournment. The Committee on Resolutions not being ready to report, David Plumb, of New York, addressed the Convention in an able manner, after which John A. Milliard, from the Committee on permanent organization, reported rules for the government of the Convention, which were amended and adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported, through Thos. B. Carroll, their Chairman. the following RESOLUTIONS.

First, That the Federal Union shall be pre-Second, That the Constitution and laws of the

United States must be observed and obeyed. Third. That the rebellion must be suppressd by force of arms, and without compa Fourth, That the rights of free speech, free press, and the habeas corpus be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been

proclaimed. Fifth, That the rebellion has virtually destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended so as to prohibit its reestablishment, and to secure to all men absolute

quality before the law. Sixth, That integrity and economy are de-manded, at all times, in the administration of the Government, and that in time of war the

want of them is criminal. Seventh, That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American Liberty, that any viola-

tion of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked. Eighth, That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recog-nized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-Republican Government on this conti-

nent, by any foreign Power, cannot be toler-Ninth, That the gratitude and support of the Nation is due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union Army and Navy. for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and

of civil liberty.

Tenth, That the one-term policy for the Presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by Constitutional amend-

Eleventh, That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people. Twelfth, That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the

people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive. Thirteenth, That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

These resolutions were taken singly, discussed, amended, and passed, the main discussion being on the fifth, as to a matter of fact in regard to the death of slavery. WILLIAM GOODELL, of New York, took the ground that slavery was not dead, as the original report had it, but that the rebellion which was now confronting and defying half a million of our brave men, was nothing more nor less than slavery in arms-and that the rebellion and slavery must live or die together; which had not been, but was to be determined by our armies now in the field.

The platform being disposed of, the following letter from WENDELL PHILLIPS was read, in favor of the nomination of Gen. FREMONT: BOSTON, May 27.

DEAR SIR: I deeply regret that it is out of my power to attend the Cleveland Convention. Allow me to suggest one or two things which hoped to urge on its attention :

Without denying what the friends of the administration claim-that it has done something toward crushing the rebellion-my charge against is that it it has not done half that it should and could have done toward that had it used the means in its hands with an earnest and single purpose to close the strife thoroughly and forever. It has thought more of conciliating rebels than of subduing them, It has avowedly forborne the use of lawful and efficient means (to wit, the abolition of slavery until it was thought indispensable, and even then has used it in a half-hearted, halting way wishing to save the feelings of rebels. had three tools with which to crush the rebel-

on; men, mone harp, in the us he war lasted l ion into a na f foreign interf great trouble in aw, was our Statesmanship & he God-given ne time that ; d cheapest m For three yea d money wi ighly and hear ssing that ough to irrita save the stat ion broke or habeas corpus -justly. treasure Meanw used; that v gainst slavery, dom, heartil Mr. Lincoln's cy, and obe result of Unless t ontinue: mmense de d the labor vel of the otic power Democratic i

Mr. Lincoln's experiment in ! into the hands oured by defe lotting constar To reconstruct is only continui ber after we ha reconstruction, and capital at v the debt on the reconstruction : sham, and per ame. Such re of di-content ar of power, temp Mexico. Such second or third There is no I ithin twenty y e white, as th If we refu e South and eneration of w

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policy ruinous riew. Mr. Li and freedomuse the means Mr. Lincoln is the Union rec terms more di union would ! I see a man w dom of the r whose thorou tion, without tatesmanship my confidence done to save decision and a

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the Constitution within the re to make any d mand a recor possible on t or black, shar But if some I shall still su if it puts the flag. Fremor port either of peril to the surrender al and support

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the state.
If the Balt Mr. Lincoln, candidate's r C. Fremont, patriotism ar ave us from have seen. I whom the re I hope we sh which will u ry our princi Wishing

Edward (

second your

friends of G nomination : on into a nation, and doubled the danger reign interference. Slavery has been our trouble in the past, and, as every man was our great danger in the future, samuship said, therefore, seize, at once, Godgiven opportunity to end it, at the time that you, in the quickest, shortest, sheapest manner, annihilate the rebellion! ree years, the administration has lavmoney without stint, and drenched the blood, and it has not, even yet, thor-and heartily struck the slave system. ng that the use of this means is indisthe administration has used it just irritate the rebels, and not enough state. In sixty days after the recorpus on the plea of military neces-dy. For three years it has poured casure and blood of the country like the state of the s very, and, up to the present moment, I to exhaust them all, before it uses earfily, as a means of battle.

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colu's triends tell us that if he is reis re-elected to pursue the same labor the same cabinet. What will lit of another four years of such pol-Those the South is recognized, the war artime: the taxation needed to sustain mease debt, doubled by that time, will be laboring men of the North down to dot the pauper labor of Europe; and a government accustomed to r for eight years-a fearful peril oln s model of reconstruction is the

in Louisiana, which puts all power ands of the unchanged white race, defeat, hating the laboring class, assaudy for aristocratic institutions. the rebel states on that model aing the war in the Senate chamwe have closed it in the field. Such eraction, leaving the South with its labor pital at war, puts the whole payment of bt on the industrious North, and in that y it will hang on us for a century. Such and perpetuates slavery under a softer Such reconstruction, leaving the seeds er, tempts and facilitates another rebel-the instigation or with the aid of French Such reconstruction dooms us to a r third-rate place among nations, and foreign insult and aggression. is no plan of reconstruction possible

in twenty years, unless we admit the black fizenship and the ballot, and use him, with ie, as the basis of states. There is not chall tates sufficient white basis to build If we refuse this method, we must subdue South and hold it as territory until this ration of white men has passed away, and seration of white men has passed away, and ser sons, with other feelings, have taken their bases, and horthern capital, energy and imagnation have forced their way into the South ould we adopt that plan, and wait for those hanges, twenty years must chapse before we are venture to rebuild states. Meanwhile, a large and expensive army, and the use of descriptions. c power by a government holding half its dory and citizens as subjects, make every aghtful man tremble for the fate of free erament. A quick and thorough reorganism of states on a Democratic basis, every and race equal before the law, is the only way to save the Union. I urge it not for black man's sake alone, but for ours-for ick. Mr. Lincoin stands pletiged by pre-and avowal. Men say, if we elect him y change his views. Possibly. But three have been a long time for a man's educain such hours as these. The nation canus this summer an opportunity to make dent a man fully educated. I prefer that

The administration, therefore, I regard as a said and military failure, and its avowed sley ruinous to the North in every point of he Union reconstructed in my days unless on terms more disastrous to liberty than even disunion would be. If I turn to General Fremont see a man whose first act was to use the freedom of the negro as his weapon. I see one whose thorough loyalty to Democratic institution without regard to race—whose earnest tad decisive character, whose clear-sighted tatesmuship and rare military ability, justify my confidence that in his bands all will be ision and statesmanship can do.

I think the convention should incorporate in a platform the demand for an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery everywhere within the republic, and forbidding the states to make any distinction among their citizens on ount of color or race. I think it should dehand a reconstruction of states as speedily as sible on the basis of every loyal man, white

black, sharing the land and the ballot.
But it some of these points are not covered, nall still support its action with all my heart, t puts the name of Fremont or Butler on its ag. Fremont is my first choice, but I can supeither of them; and this is an hour of such ril to the republic, that I think men should render all party and personal partiality, and support any man able and willing to save

If the Baltimore Convention shall nominate Mr Lincoln, then I hope we shall fling our sandidate's name, the long-honored one of J. Fremont, to the breeze, and appeal to the patriotism and common sense of the people to sare us from another such three years as we have seen. If, on the contrary, the Baltimore avention shall give us the name of any man shom the radicals of the loyal states can trust, ope we shall be able to arrange some plan which will unite all on a common basis, and carour principles into the goverment.

Wishing you all success, and prepared to second your efforts to remove this administra-D. I am, yours, &c.,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.
Edward Gilbert, Esq., New York.

At this stage of the proceedings the friends of Gen. Grant, presented his claims to

We were warned to be quick and in the use of these, because every year plasted hardened the South from a reliated hardened the South from a reliated nation, and doubled the danger plasted hardened. Sheery has been our nominated, as a candidate for President, Gen. JOHN CHARLES FREMONT, of California, which was carried by acclamation, and followed by long continued cheers, throwing up of hats, waving of handkerchiefs, &c., &c. After these demonstrations had subsided, Gen. John Coch-RANE, of New York, was in like manner nominated for Vice-President, after which the Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention assembled according to adjournment, when J. W. Alden, of New Jersey, was called to the chair. The Committee to nominate a National Committee, and who were also instructed to report a name for the party, not having come in, the Convention was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire, in an able and eloquent speech. At the conclusion of his speech, the President of the Convention having came in, resumed the chair and the committee reported as follows in part.

THE NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE. Edward Gilbert,
Waiter H. Shupe,
Frederick Kapp,
B. B. Chapman, Ohio.
E. H. Protorious,
Chas E. Moss,
Mo. Edward Gilbert, Waiter H. Shupe, Frederick Kapp, N. Y. J. W. Barker, Pa. Wendell Phillips, Mass, J. P. Steebold, Iowa. Wm. Sneither, Md. Chas. Post, Ind. James Taussig, Casper Butz, Ill. James F Leggett, Kansas.

Mr. Gilbert also reported the name of the "Radical Democracy," which was adopted by

the Convention. Mr. SNEITHER moved that a Committee of Five be appointed to wait upon Generals Fremont and Cochrane and inform them of their

Carried, and Messrs. Sneither, Moss, Gilbert, Butz and N. P. Sawyer were appointed.

After remarks by S. S. Foster, of Massachusetts, the Convention adjourned sine die.

NOMINATIONS OF THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION ACCEPTED.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter of the Nominating Committee to Gen. Fremont.

New York, June 3d, 1864.

General:—A Convention of the People, sitting at the City of Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, on the 31st day of May, 1864, have nominated you unanimously and by acclamation as a candidate for President of the United States

United States.

The Convention have appointed us their Committee, with instructions to communicate to you the result of their deliberations, and to ask your acceptance of the nomination.

In discharging this duty, the Committee need hardly inform you, General, that the Convention which has thus put you in nomination for the office of President represented that the great mass of the nation which held in practice, as well as in theory, to the funda-mental doctrine of its founders, that all men have the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that Slavery and caste are incompatible with its enjoyment, and ought not to be suffered to exist.

The Convention, true to its faith in the common brotherhood of man, and of government by all the people for all the people, adopted a series of resolutions, which the Committee submit for your consideration, going in some sense to express the views which they hold, in unison with those of the Radical Democ racy of the nation, upon some of the main issues to be tried before the people at the

coming Presidential election.

That they do not cover specifically every point of the political faith of the Radical Democracy of the country, or do not define, per-haps, as sharply as they might have been made to do, the radical views of the Convention of little importance, for the reason that the limit is re-elected I do not expect to see the convention of the Convention for the convention of the Convention for President is the living embodiment of all the limit and only in the convention for the convention of the convention for the convention for the convention for the convention for the convention of the convention for the convention of the convention for the convention of the convention primciples of government, and civil and military administration, which has called into being the political organization that has just made you, General, its standard bearer.

Your own high character for fidelity to the equal rights of all the people, and the signal proofs you have given to the world of the possession of the statesmanship and wisdom necessary to govern well and justly, and of the generalship, so sorely needed to carry the war to a quick and triumphant issue, are a better guarantee, that the principles you represent will not be betrayed should the Nation elevate you to its Chief Magistracy than any written profession of political faith, however cunningly drawn and gravely accepted with intent to be broken.

But the Convention, in what they have done. have substantially covered the whole ground of the political faith of the Radical Democracy in asserting the necessity for establishing the supremacy of the Federal Union; for the faithful execution of the laws of the United States; for the maintaining the liberties of persons, speech, and press, except when suspended by martial law; for suppressing the Rebellion by force of arms, and without com-promise; for amending the Constitution so as to abolish and prohibit Slavery forever in the United States, and securing to all men absolute equality before the law; for integrity and economy in the administration of the National Government; for upholding the right of asylum, except for crime and offense against ternational law; for the vindication of the Monroe doctrine, by declaring anew the de-termination of the American people not to tolerate the setting up of any anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power; for insisting upon applying the one term principle to the office of President, and amending the Constitution so as to provide for the election of that officer by a direct vote of the whole people; for restricting the power of reconstructing rebellious States to the people through their Representatives in Congress; for confiscating the lands of Rebels and distributing them among the soldiers and actual

nomination for the Presidency. The Hon. A. J.

What these principles would mean in practice the Convention clearly declared, General,

when they put you upon them as their candidate for President, for they knew, and the country knows, that you will, if elected, faithfully carry them out to all their logical consequences without fear or favor, and give the country an administration of public affairs that will command the affections of the whole people, and restore it to its former high place

in the scale of nations.

Perhaps we may best illustrate the temper of the Convention by referring you to the letter of Mr. Wendell Phillips the reading of which was ordered, and received with a storm of applause. We feel authorized to declare it as our opinion that, had it been offered as a platform of the principles of government and administration, it would have been adopted with the same tumultuous applause as that which hailed your nomination. Its masterly exposition of the needs of the country in this dark crisis of its existence and struggles for continued life is a fitting commentary upon the purposes of the Convention, and we com-mend it to your consideration as a part of their deliberations.

And now, General, having discharged our duty imposed on us by the Convention, we trust that you will favor us with an early reply, signifying your acceptance of the nomina-tion, in order that the Radical Democracy of the nation, whose hearts have already been thrilled with joy at the tidings that their heroic leader in the campaign of 1856 has been summoned to the field again, may hear his clarion voice rallying them to victory and the salvation of the Republic. We are, General, very respectfully, your friends and servants

vants, Worthington G. Snethen, of Maryland, Chairma Chairman.

EDWARD GILBERT, of New York, CASPAR BUTZ, of Illinois, CHARLES E. Moss, of Missouri, N. P. SAWYER, of Pennsylvania. To Major-General John C. FREMONT, N. York.

GEN. FREMONT'S REPLY.

Gentlemen: In answer to the letter which I have had the honor to receive from you on the part of the representatives of the people, assembled at Cleveland, on the 31st of May, I desire to express my thanks for the confidence which led them to offer me the honorable and difficult position of their candidate in the approaching Presidential contest.

Very honorable, because in offering it to me

you act in the name of a great number of citizens, who seek, above all things, the good of their country, and who have no sort of selfish interest in view. Very difficult, because in accepting the candidacy you propose to me, I am exposed to the reproach of creating a a schism in the party with which I have been

Had Mr. Lincoln remained faithful to the principles he was elected to defend, no schism could have been created, and no contest could have been possible. This is not an ordinary election, it is a contest for the right even to have candidates, and not merely as usual for the choice among them. Now, for the first time since '76, the question of constitutional time since '76, the question of constitutional liberty has been brought directly before the people, for their serious consideration and vote. The ordinary rights, secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country, have been violated, and extraordinary powers have been usurped by the Executive. It is directly before the people now to say whether or not the principles established by the Ecvolution are worth maintaining. are worth maintaining.

If, as we have been taught to believe, those

guarantees of liberty, which made the distinc-tive value and glory of our country, are, in truth, inviolably sacred, then there must be a protest against the arbitrary violation which had not even the excuse of necessity. The schism is made by those who force the choice between a shameful silence or a protest against wrong. In such considerations originated the Cleveland Convention. It was among its objects to arouse the attention of the people to such facts and to bring them. such facts, and to bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country, in the name of Lib-erty, we have really parted with it at home. To-day we have in the country the abuses

of a military dictation, without its unity of action and vigor of execution. An Administration marked at home by disregard of Constitutional rights, by its violation of personal liberty and the liberty of the press, and, as a and driven them to a belief that only commercial interests and personal aims are concerned, and that no great principles are involved in

The admirable conduct of the people, their readiness to make every sacrifice demanded of them, their forbearance and silence, under the suspension of everything that could be suspended, their many acts of heroism and sacrifices, were all rendered fruitless by the incapacity or, to speak more exactly, by the personal ends for which the war was managed. capacity and selfishness naturally produced such results as led the European Powers, and ogically enough, to the conviction that the North, with its greatly superior population, its immense resources, and its credit, will never be able to recover the South. Sympathies which should have been with us from the outset of the war, were turned against us, and in this way the Administration has done the country a double wrong abroad. It created hostility or, at best, indifference among those who would have been its friends if the real intentions of the people could have been better known; while at the same time, it neglected no occasion for making the most humiliating concessions.

Against this disastrous condition of affairs the

Cleveland Convention was a protest. The principles which form the basis of its platform have my unqualified and cordial appro-bation, but I cannot so heartly concur in all the measures which you propose. I do not be-lieve that confiscation extended to the property of all Rebels, practicable, and, if it were so don't think it a measure of sound policy. It is a question belonging to the people themselves to decide, and is a proper occasion for the exercise of their original and sovereign authority. As a war measure, in the beginning of a revolt which might be quelled by prompt severity I understand the policy of confiscation; but not as a final measure of reconstruction after the suppression of an insurrection.

In the adjustments which are to follow peace,

no considerations of vengeance can consistently The object of the war is to make permanently

ery may be considered practically destroyed in the country, and it needs only your proposed amendment of the Constitution to make its ex-

tinction complete.
With this extinction of Slavery, the party divisions created by it have also disappeared. And if, in the history of the country, there has ever been a time when the American people, without regard to one or another of the po-litical divisions, were called upon to give sol-emuly their voice in a matter which involved the safety of the United States, it is assuredly the present time.

If the Convention at Baltimore will nominate any man whose past life justifies a well-grounded confidence in his fidelity to our cardinal principles, there is no reason why there should be any division among the really patriotic men of the country. To any such I shall be most

happy to give a cordial and active support.

My own decided preference is to aid in this way, and not to be myself a candidate. But if Mr. Lincoln should be renominated, as I believe it would be fatal to the country to indorse a policy and renew a power which has cost us the lives of thousands of men, and needlessly put the country on the road to bankruptcy, there will remain no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious op-position with the view to prevent the misfortune of his re-election.

In this contingency, I accept the nomination at Cleveland, and as a preliminary step I have resigned my commission in the Army. But I had for a long time fruitlessly endeavored to obtain service. I make this sacrifice only to regain liberty of speech, and to leave nothing in the way of discharging to my utmost ability the task you have set for me.

With my earnest and sincere thanks for your

expressions of confidence and regard, and for the many honorable terms in which you ac-quaint me with the actions of the Committee, I am, gentlemen, very respectfully and truly J. C. FREMONT.

yours, New-York, June 4, 1864. To Messis. Worthington G. Snethen of Maryland, Edward Gilbert of New York, Casper Butz of Illinois, Charles E. Moss of Missouri, N. P. SAWYER of Pensylvania.

LETTER OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE TO GEN. COCHRANE. New York, June 3 1864.

GENERAL: The Convention sitting at Cleveland on the 31st ultime, having unanimously nominated you as the candidate of the Radical Democracy for Vice President of the United States, on the ticket with John C. Fremont, as their candidate for President, have deputed us as their Committee to communicate to you the result of their deliberations, and to ask of you the

ticularly to the resolutions which were adopted as the basis of the new political organization which the necessities of the times have called into being. You know them all, and your out-spoken indorsement of the position taken by the Convention, as well as your eminent love of freedom through a long career of public use-fulness, won for you the confidence of the Convention, which resulted in selecting you as a candidate for the high office of Vice-President.

cancidate for the high office of Vice-President.

The war, General, has swept away all old party ties; and he who is wise enough to appreciate this fact and range himself on the side of his imperited country, deserves the confidence of all patriots. Among the thousands of Democrats who have thus shown their wisdom, no man of your ancient political faith in the nation has taken a higher or nealest standard the has taken a higher or nobler stand than your-self, and to this fact the Convention was keenly

When the war broke out you took the field against the common enemy, and led our brave soldiers to battle on many a hard-fought field, in which you showed yourself the true soldier. And when it was the fashion of the Government to respect the rights of the Rebels to their slaves and thus to re-enforce them to that extent, you holdly advocated in the camp the necessity of depriving the Rebellion of the immense resour-ces which Slavery conferred upon it by its de-

struction. Your fellow-citizens of New-York, General, liberty and the liberty of the press, and, as a crowning shame, by its abandonment of the right of asylum—a right especially dear to all and humanity, and at the late state election defree nations. Abroad, its course has been clared their confidence in you by choosing you characterized by a feebleness and want of principle which has misled European powers, this record, and with your fearless advocacy of the principles of the Radical Democracy before them, the Convention did not hesitate, but with one accord called on you to complete the ticket bearing on it the name of the illustrious Fre-

> In conclusion, General, the Committee hope you will favor them with your early reply, ac-cepting the nomination, in order that the Radical Democracy may fling to the breeze at once the invincible flag of Freedom, Union and Independence, and move upon the enemy's works

without delay. We are, General, respectfully, Your friends and servants, WORTHINGTON G. SNETHEN of Maryland, Chairman, EDWARD GILBERT of New-York,

CASPER BUTZ of Illinois, CHARLES E. Moss of Missouri, N. P. SAWYER of Pennsylvania, Gen. JOHN COCHRANE, New-York.

GEN. COCHRANE'S REPLY. New-York, June 4, 1864. GENTLEMEN: I have received your note informing me of my nomination by the Radical Democracy, at Cleveland, on the 31st ult., as their candidate for Vice-President of the United States, on the ticket with John C. Fremont as their candidate for President.

I have been accustomed to regard simply as a duty performed what you are pleased to represent as personally meritorious, and to regret the physical disability which alone withdrew me from the immediate scene of war.

I concur in the action and agree with the principles of the Convention where, by its twelfth resolution, the question of reconstruction is referred to the constitutional action of the people. It wisely committed to them an issue peculiarly within the province of the future, and not yet sufficiently emerged from war to warrant positive opinion.

While I have ever supposed confiscation and use of the property of an enemy in arms to be a laudable exercise of an established and essential rule of civilized war, I am pleased to observe that the Convention, when asserting the justice of the principle intended to remit its exer-

secure the peace and happiness of the whole country, and there was but a single element in the way of its attainment. This element of Slaviers, when considering the paramount questions. gress, when considering the paramount question of reconstruction. This was judicious; for, indeed, so blended must be the various methods —sequestration, confiscation, military absorp-tion and occupation-that shall hereafter coop-erate to evolve order from confusion, and to restore the Government, that it is difficult, if not impossible, now, when affirming the principle, to provide for its application.

I have the honor gentlemen, to accept the nomination for the Vice-President of the United States which you have tendered to me under

the direction of the Convention.
I am, very respectfully, yours,
John Cochrane. To Worthington G. Snethen of Maryland, Edward Gilbert of New-York, Casper Butz of Illinois, Chas. E. Moss of Missouri, N. P. Sawyer of Pennsylvania, Committee, &c.

THE NEWS.

CONGRESS.

MONDAY, MAY 30.

SENATE.

The bill to expedite the land claims in California was laid over. The Tax bill then came up and some unimportant changes were made. Adjourned.

The Select Committee on the subject of admitting Members of the Cabinet to seats on the floor of the House, was continued during the present Congress. The Washington Monument Committee on the District of Monament Committee on the District of Columbia was instructed to inquire into the condition of the Washington National Monument Society, amounts collected, and sums expended, and its affairs generally. The House resumed the consideration of the resolution heretofore submitted by Mr. Rollins of Missouri concerning the chiest of the way. Missouri concerning the objects of the war. Mr. Fernando Wood unsuccessfully sought to Mr. Fernando Wood unsuccessfully sought to amend the resolution, but his motion was dis, agreed to. The House then, by a vote of 81 to 17, referred the resolution to the Committee on the rebellious States. Mr. Washburne, under the suspension of the rules, reported a bill from the Committee on Commerce, appropriating \$250,000 for the repair and preservation of the works for the benefit of commerce on the Lakes, and \$100,000 for similar purposes on the soaboard. The bill was pass of. purposes on the seaboard. The bill was passed. Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, moved a suspension of the rules in order to report a bill providing for the summary punishment of guerrillas. The House refused to suspend the rules by a vote of 79 to 42. Mr. English reported a bill, which was passed, extending the time fixed in sult of their deliberations, and to are of your acceptance of the nomination.

We need not tell you, General, of the radical character of that Convention, for you were its worthy presiding officer, nor need we refer particularly to the resolutions which were adopted in the consideration of the Kentucky continuation.

the act of Jane, 1864, for commencing the construction of the Marquette and Ontonagon railroad for which the public lands were at that period appropriated. The House then resolution to the Kentucky continuation of the Kentucky continuation. tested election case of McHenry against Yea-man. After debate the House, by a vote of 96 yeas against 26 nays, adopted the resolu-tion declaring Mr. Yeaman entitled to retain his seat. On motion of Mr. Cole it was re-solved that the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire by what authority and under whose direction the Rebels are in-terspersed with the National soldiers through-out the various hospitals of Washington, and as to the comparative treatment of the Rebel and Union soldiers in the hospitals. Mr. Lazear offered a long preamble, concluding with a resolution that the President be required to adopt measures for the suspension of hostilities between the North and South and an armistice, in order that in the mean time a Convention may be called of all the States, with a view to the restoration of the Union with their constitutional rights. Objection was made, when Mr. Lazear moved a suspension of the rules, pending which the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, MAY 31,

SENATE.

Mr. Foote presented the credentials of Mr. Baxter, Senator elect from Arkansas, which were read and hid upon the table. Mr. Davis submitted resolutions to investigate the character of Gen. Butler, and wanted all Summer to do it. No vote. The Internal Revenue bill came up and some amendments were made. came up, and some amendments were made.

HOUSE.

The House passed a bill in order to carry into effect Consular Conventions with France, Sardinia, and other nations. The House proceeded to the consideration of the bill authorizing the President to construct a military railroad from the Valley of the Ohio to East Tennessee, in such manner as may best serve the interests of the Government and insure its speedy completion. The bill was passed by 64 to 56. Mr. Stevens called up the bill incorporating the People's Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company. Also, giving alternate Telegraph Company. Also, giving alternate sections of land toward the construction of the line, which is to extend from Lake Superior to Puget's Sound by the Northern route; passed, 74 to 50. The House took up the bill proposing to the several States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the Legislature of three-fourths of said States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of said Constitution, namely; Neither Slavery or in-voluntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime, of which the party shall be duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place within their jurisdiction, and Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to carry the foregoing article into effect." Mr. Holman objected to the second reading, and the question occurred, "shall the bill be rejected?" This was determined in the negative, by Yeas, 55; Nays, 76. Mr. Wilson said it was not his intention to press the bill to a vote to-night; he would allow a reasonable time for debate. Mr. Morris addressed the House in favor of the passage of

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1. SENATE.

Mr. Snerman, on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the National Bank bill, made a report. He explained that there were only six points of difference between the Senate and the House, the latter having generally agreed to the former's amendme The most material amendment was to require all banks East and West to redeem their currency at a par in New York, instead of al-

lowing Western banks a quarter of one per cent discount on their notes redeemable in New York. Mr. Sumner reported back the bill permitting the exportation of goods from the British Provinces through the United States, with a request that the Committee be discharged from its further consideration.

Agreed to. Mr. Anthony reported the House bill to amend the act relative to public printing, and it was passed. Mr. Hendricks called up the bill for the relief of the State of Wisconsin, paying her five per cent on the sales of public lands within her limits, and the bill was discussed until the close of the morning hour. Mr. Johnson reported a bill authoriz ing the settlement and payment of certain claims against the United States, with an amendment simplifying the mode of attaining a settlement.

Mr. Jenckes reported back the bill to estab lish a uniform system of bankruptcy through-out the United States. Mr. Holman moved that the further consideration of the bill be postponed. Disagreed to-53 against 74. There were no further proceedings on the bill. Mr. Davis introduced a bill for the construction of a bridge over the Hudson at Albany for military and postal purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce. The House concurred in the report of the Committee of Conference on the disagreeing amendments of the National Bank bill. Mr. Dawes made a report in the Missouri contested election case of Birch contesting the seat of King. He moved that the papers be laid upon the table, and the Committee be discharged. Mr. Birch the contest-ant, addressed the House on his own behalf. Mr. King, sitting member, replied, when the question was taken on laying the whole sub-ject on the table, and decided in the negative. Mr. Farnsworth offered a resolution that neither Mr. Birch nor Mr. King is entitled to a seat, which was disagreed to-39 against 72. Committee on Elections was discharged from any further consideration of the subject, so Mr. King retains his seat. Adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2. SENATE.

The House bill to expedite the settlement of land titles in California, at San Francisco and elsewhere, was passed. Mr. Hale called up the joint resolution for the relief of the contractors for the machinery of side-wheel gunboats known as "double-enders." After some discussion between Mr. Grimes and Mr. Hale, the bill went over under the rules. The consideration of the Tax bill was then resumed. An amendment of Mr. Clark imposing a tax of 15 to 25 cts per lb on tobacco was adopted Some other amendments were disposed of. The bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treas ury to stipulate for the release from attachment or other process, of property claimed by the United States, was passed. The bill in relation to the Professors of the West Point Academy was called up by Mr. Harris, and was passed. The joint resolution, tendering thanks of Congress to Lieut. Col. Joseph Bailey, was adopted. The consideration of the Internal Revenue bill was resumed. Adjourned.

HOUSE. Mr. Stevens reported a substitute for the Sen-ate bill, amendatory of the Pacific Railroad act. The House then went into a Committee of the whole, and took up the Tariff bill. Mr. Mor-rill explained the reasons and necessities for the bill. Mr. Cox followed in an attack upon New-England. Mr Dawes and Mr Blaine replied, Mr. Ward argued that in the imposition of a tax or tariff, it was of the utmost importance it should be for revenue and not probibitory. He deprecated hasty and unconstitutional legislation on the subject, showing that constant tariff fluctuations had a tendency to destroy trade, and in this connection referred to the agitation concerning a tax of whiskey on hand. Recess till 715 o'clock. The Committee then rose. After several speeches the House passed the Senate bill to compensate the petty officers and seamen on the gunboat De Kalb, and various Senate bills were taken from the Speaker's table and referred. The House passed the senate bill authorizing an honorable discharge to firemen and coal-heavers in the Naval service. Adjourned.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3. SENATE.

Mr. Wilson presented a petition setting the use of intoxicating drinks

Laid on the table. Mr. Howard reported back the bill to amend the act to facilitate commerce between the

Atlantic and Pacific States, by telegraph or otherwise, with an amendment. The consideration of the Internal Revenue bill was then fesumed as in Committee of the

Whole. Mr. Howe offered various amendments relative to the machinery of the bill, which were adopted. Mr. Clark moved the following amendments,

which were adopted:

On eigarettes made of tobacco inclosed in a wrapper, valued at not over \$7 per hundred packages, and each containing not more than twenty-five eigarettes, \$1 per hundred packages.

On cigarettes made wholly of tobacco, and also on those known as cheroots or short sixes, valued in each case at not over \$6 per thousand, \$3 per thousand.

On cigars valued at over \$5 and not over

\$15 per thousand, \$8 per thousand.
On cigars valued at over \$15 and not over
\$30 per thousand, \$15 per thousand.
On cigars valued at over \$30, and not over \$45 per thousand, \$25 per thousand.

On cigars valued at over \$45, \$10 per thou-

The valuation of cigars berein mentioned shall in all cases be the value of the cigars exclusive of the tax, and every cigarnaker, before making any cigars, shall procure a per-mit authorizing him to carry on his trade, for which he shall pay of cents, and also procure thereon the indersement of the A-sistant Assessor of his district, paying 10 cents therefor. Every person making cigars shall keep an account of the cigars made by him, their kind and quality, and for whom and where made, and shall deliver to the Assistant A sessor a copy thereof verified by oath. The penalty for the violation of this act is \$5 for a talse return is \$100, with the same imprison-

amendment of Mr. Chandler's was adopted, which raises the tax on chewing 7,500 men, in killed, wounded, and roissing, tobacco, caveralish, plug, twist, and manufactor That of the enemy is supposed to be greater.

tured tobacco of all descriptions, from which They left their killed and wounded on the the stems have been taken, from 35 to 45 cents, by a vote of 19 against 14.

Mr. Harris moved to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was adopted. Considerable debate ensued upon the motion, pending which the Senate at 3:30 p. m.

took a recess until seven o'clock. Z In the evening session Mr. Van Winkle called up the bill to prevent the counterfeiting of the coin of the United States, and it was passed.

The consideration of the Tax bill was resumed, the question being on the motion of Mr. Powell to reconsider the vote by which the tax on chewing-tobacco was raised from 35 to 45 cents.

The motion was carried, and the original question, recurring the tax of 35 cents was retained.

Mr. Chandler moved to amend the Senate's amendment taxing fine cut tobacco in bulk, package, papers, etc., 45 cents, and insert 35 cents per pound. This was agreed to by 32

Mr. Wilson moved an amendment increasing the tax on whisky to \$125, from July to October, 1864, \$150 from October 1864 to 1865, and to \$2 per gallon thereafter. Mr. Wilson's amendments were rejected by 11 Yeas against 21 Nays.

Mr. Hendricks moved an amendment providing that from the 1st day of July, 1864, to the 1st day of July, 1865, the tax on spirits shall and from that time \$1 50.

Mr. Hendricks contended that the proposed tax was an onerous and oppressive tax upon the corn-growing regions of the West, where the people were unable to get their grain to market except in the form of whisky.

The amendment was rejected by a vote of

The Senate at 10 o'clock adjourned.

Mr. Dawes reported a resolution allowing mileage and salary to Mr. McHenry of Ken tucky, and Mr. Birch of Missouri, who un successfully contested the seats of Messrs Yeaman and King. Tabled, 66 against 59. Mr. Stevens presented a bill making appro priations for sundry civil expenditures, the onsideration of which was postponed until next Wednesday. The House passed the Senate bill amendatory of the law granting alternate sections of land to Michigan to aid in the construction of railroads. On motion of Mr. Morrill, all general debate on the tariff was ordered to cease in one minute. House went into Committee on that subject. Several amendments were made, the bill occupying all the session until recess. recess, Mr. Washburne reported a bill, which was passed, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the Marine Hospital and grounds at Chicago, and with the proceeds of uch sale purchase a more healthy and retired pocation. The House proceeded to consider the bankrupt bill. After some debate, the ocation. House took up the Senate bill to prohibit speculating transactions in gold and bullion.

Mr. Hooper offered a substitute for the first ection, and moved the previous question. Mr. Pendleton moved a call of the House. Disagreed to; 38 against 62. Mr. Mallory moved the House adjourn; lost. Mr. Pendleton moved to go into Committee on the Tariff bill, when the House adjourned.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4. SENATE.

The House bill to provide for the payment of the 2d Regiment, 3d Brigade, Ohio Volunteer Militia, was passed. The bill to extend for five years the time for the reversion to the United States of lands granted by Congress to aid in the construction of a railroad from Marquette to Flint, was passed. The bill to pay Wisconsin her five per cent. on the re served public lands in her borders was dismissed. The consideration of the Internal Revenue bill was resumed. After some dis-cussion the Senate adjourned,

HOUSE,

Mr. Garfield rose to a personal explanation. after which Mr. Smith moved that when the House adjourn, it be until Wednesday. Disa-greed to by a large majority. The House went into Committee of the Whole on the Tariff bill. A large number of amendments were forth that a great many disasters in our army made, and then the Committee rose and reported the bill, with the amendments, to and asking for some remedy from Congress. House. All the amendments were concurred stated, about ninety soldiers, (colored) beside nays 26. Adjourned.

THE WAR.

The Movement on Richmond .-Our news from the Army of the Potomae is to Saturday evening.

Though nothing decisive has yet occurred, everything thus far is in our favor. Upon learning the position of Gen. Grant, south of the Pamunkey, Gen. Lee hastened at once to throw himself between our army and the rebel capi- from Gen. Grant's headquarters dow tal, and is evidently inclined to contest every inch of ground between the Chickabominy and Richmond. His army, however, is dispirited, and has become more or less denforalized by retreats, while our troops are fresh, confident. and enthusiastic. A number of severe preliminary skirmishes have occurred, resulting in every instance, in our favor. An attempt of the enemy to break our connection with White forcements sent up from Gen. Buder (Gen. Smith's command) reached Gen. Grant, without interruption, early last week and have since participated in several engagements.

Gen. Grant also received a reinforcement of 5,000 men by way of Port Royal on the Rappahamoek, on Saturday last. It is believed that Beauregard has reinforced Lee. Both armies are forming, and feeling each other's

From the fact that Gen. Grant has pushed each day, or impresonment not exceeding 30 well to the castward, and is pre-sing closely on days on any one conviction. The penalty for the Chickahominy, it is believed that he intends to turn Lee's right flank. Our loss, in the fighting of the last few days, is estimated at

field, as they fell back. Our telegraphic communication with Gen. Grant, by way of Cherrystone and Fortress Monroe, is uninterrupted. White House is Gen. Grant's base of supplies, and is considered entirely safe.

Gen. Butler has been several times assailed in his intrenchments at Bermuda Hundred, but has thus far succeeded in repelling the enemy.

We learn from Richmond papers that the rebel Congress is deliberating upon a proposition to adjourn and skedaddle-an act which the rebel press strongly denounces. A refugee from Richmond reports that a meeting had been held to consider the question whether it would be best to surrender to the Union forces. or burn the city. The Mayor advocated a surrender, and was at once consigned to Castle Thunder.

Gen. Sherman's Advance -- Gen. Sherman is steadily advancing. Under date of June 3d., 10 p. m. Secretary Stanton says:

A dispatch dated yesterday at 71g p. m., has this evening been received from Gen. Sherman. He reports that on Wednesday, June 1, McPherson moved up from Dallas to a point in front of the enemy at New Hope Church. On Thursday, June 2, Scofield and Hooker, having been shifted to the extreme left, pushed forward toward Marietta. At the same time Stoneman's and Garrand's cavalry were sent to Allatoona Pass, which they reached and held possession of. These movements, the dispatch says, have secured the pass, which was considered a formidable one. Movements are reported by the dispatch as in progress which are not proper now for publication

Under date of June 5, 1 o'clock p. m. Secretary Stanton gives additional intelligence as follows:

A dispatch from Gen. Sherman, dated yesterday June 4, 8 a. m., thirteen miles west of Marietta, reports that his left is now well around, covering all roads from the south to the railroad about Ackworth. His cavalry has been in Ackworth Pass.

Guerrillas in Arkansas.-Dispatches from St. Louis to the 1st inst, state that a train of Union refugees from Jacksonport, Ark., under escort of seventy men of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry, was attacked at Salem, Ark., by three hundred guerrillas. The entire train as burnt, and eighty men and some women killed. On Friday last ten men of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry, while out scouting, were attacked by guerrillas and five killed; the others escaped. Returning in larger force they found the bodies of these killed stripped, and their throats cut. About two weeks Shell y left Brownsville with a force estimated at 1,500 to 3 000 men for Southwest Mis-ouri. Gen. West has been sent after him with several companies of cavalry.

From the Mississippi .- A gunboat fight .- A dispatch from Memphis says:

The tin-clads Marmora, Juliet, and Prairie Bird recently engaged the Robel batteries at Gaines's Landing, and succeeded in driving them away. The Prairie Bird was struck thirty times, and the Marine brigade boat Delta had her donkey engine shot over-board, and the engineer killed

Marmaduke, who is reported to be in command of the Rebels, had taken twelve pieces of artillery. He captured and burned the steamer Lebanon,

and carried the crew and passengers off as prisoners. boats from White River report the

Rebels to be thick, but the boats are not moles-

Maj-Gen. Foster assumed command of the Department of the South on the 20th ult. Brig-Gen. Hatch has been assigned to the command of Hilton Head District. During a reconnoissance up the Ashepoo River by Gea. Birney, the steamer Boston passed further up the stream than was intended, and was opened on by a rebel battery while aground, and struck seventy times. She was thus disabled, and during the night was abandoned and burned by our forces The navy tug-boat Colum-bine was captured by the rebels on St. John's River, about ten miles above Pilatka, on the varing of the 2d ult. She had on heard it is in. The bill was then passed by Yeas 81; crew. She was armed with two 20-pounder The rebels opened a battery on her and guns. one shot struck the rudder, disabling her and causing her to drift on shore. Three men of the Thirty-fifth U. S. Colored Regiment escaped and reached St. Augustine overland.

LATER.

The latest intelligence from our advancing armies under Gens. Grant and Sherman is embodied in the following official dispatches from Secretary Stanton:

Washington, Monday, June 6-7 a. m o Mej. Gen. Dix: We have dispatche o'clock last evening, which state that there had een no fighting during the day. The enemy made an attack on Saturday night upon Ha cock. Wright and Smith, but were everywhere epulsed. Hancock's lines are brought within 40 yards of the Robel works. The Robels were very busy on Saturday constructing intrenchments on the west side of the Chickahominy, at Buttom's Bridge, and toward evening threw

a party across to the east side. enemy to break our connection with White A dispatch from tien. Sherman dated yes-House was successfully repulsed. The rein-terday atternoon, June 5, 3 1 2 o'clock, at Alia toona Creek, states that the enemy discover ing us moving round his right flack abandoned position last night and marched off. McPherson is moving to-day for Ackworth; Gen. Thomas on the direct Marrietta road, and Schofield on his right. It has been raining hard for three days and the reads are heavy An examination of the enemy's abandoned liof works here shows an immense line of works which I have turned with less loss to ourselves than we have inflicted upon them. The army supplies of forage and provisions are

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Washington, Monday, June 6-10 p. m. To Maj G.n. Dix: Dispatches have been received from Gen. Grant's headquarters to-day, but they report only certain changes in the disposition of corps and contemplated operations. hundred thousand less. The number of deaths taking refuge on be from small-pox in May was twenty-five. The er for St. Thomas.

The Chief Quartermaster of the Army reports, from a personal inspection of the depot at White House, that it is in a most efficient state, all needful supplies are on hand, and wagons easily transport them to the army. The wounded are being brought in, and transports are not delayed a moment.

A dispatch from Gen. Sherman, dated 12 o'clock noon to day at Ackworth, says: "I am now on the railroad at Ackworth station, and have full possession forward to within six miles of Marietta. All well."

There is no other Military intelligence to-day. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Disaster at Sea .-- The steamer Pocahonlas sunk .- The transport steamer City of Bath, which left this port on the 1st instant for Washington, D. C., returned a day later with a report of a terrrible disaster. On Wednesday night, off Cape May, she came into collision with the steamer Pocahontas, which left New Orleans May 24, and sunk her. The Captain of the City of Bath reports:

The City of Bath left New York June 1st. at cleven A. M., bound to Washington, D. C. At 11,50 r. M., made a steamer's light ahead; put our helm a-port to clear her, at the same time the Pocahontas's helm was put to starboard, and the two boats came together, the City of Bath striking the Pocahontas abaft the fore rigging; backed off from her, and found that we were leaking badly; commenced throwing overboard cargo to lighten her forward, and succeeded in stopping the leak. Sent our boats to the assistance of the other versel, and lay by the place until daylight, in hopes to find more of her people (a large number having already been received on board), but picked up only one. At the time of the collision, Cape May lightship bore southwest seventeen miles.

Forty lives were lost, among them Captain Baxter of the Pocahontas, one discharged lieu-tenant and two engineers. The passengers lost were soldiers discharged or on turlough. Pocahontas was a screw steamer of eight hundred tons, commanded by John Baxter, of Hyannis, and sailed from New Orleans on May 24, with one hundred and one souls on board. She had rendered good service to the government during the Texas expedition under Gen-

Honor to Gen. Grant - A mass meetg was held Saturday evening in Union-square, do honor to Lieut.-Gen. Grant and his brave oldiers. The greatest enthusiasm and animity prevailed. Speeches were made by James T. Brady, Esq. Ex-Mayor Opdyke, Hon. Chas, P. Daly, Gen. Meagher, and others. A letter from President Lincoln was read, expressing his hearty approval of the objects of

Terrible Explosion at Bachelor's Creek, N. C .- A terrible accident occurred at Bachelor's Creek railway station, on the afternoon of May 26. Four torpedoes, which were being removed from the cars to the plat form, and which were a part of those intended to complete the blockade of the Neuse River, were exploded by the cap of one of them being accidentally struck, the concussion exploding the other three instantaneously. There were a large number of the 132d and other New York regiments on the train, and many were killed and wounded

The signal tower and a commissary building. twenty feet by eighty feet, built of logs, were thrown into the air a distance of eight hundred feet, and strewed the country for a great disance around with fragments.

Our Russian Guests.- The officers of the Russian fleet are receiving the hospitalities of the City of Boston in an agreeable but unostentatious series of excursions and dinners. It is understood that the Admiral has received orders to leave with the three vessels now at Boston this week for the Baltic. The two vessels at New York will all leave soon, it is reported, for the Mediterranean.

A Disastrous Fire. The village of Glens Falls nearly destroyed —A disastrous fire occured last week in the village of Glens Falls in this state. Nearly the entire town was destroyed, and hundreds of persons left homeless and penniless. Two lives are reported lost, and several of the citizens were injured. The fire raged for five hours. The froy Times says:

"The fire spread from the kitchen of the Glen's Falls Hotel almost instantly in each direction. There was a gale of wind blowing from the west, and the flames leaped towards distant buildings, sometime sparing others near by. The fire spread up Glen street, taking the buildings on each side as far as the Dividend Insurance offi e. It extended up Ridge street on each side to Mr Lapham's, including the square at the junction of Bidge, Glen and Warren streets. It destroyed in all at least one bundred and twenty five buildings. The fire pretty well burned itself out at last, and the wind went down. Human efforts were power-less to stay the direct for e of the conflagration, but the firemen of Glor's Falls. Sandy Hill and Fort Edward did much to save individual property, and thus check the progress of the fla Not till nightfall was their spread stopped—the fire commencing about four o'clock.

"Few active participants in the work of stayre aware of its extent. The loss citimated at from \$500,000 to Sch0,000 upon which there is an insurance of less than half. The spene among the roles is terrible, and cases of individual hard-hip are runerous. Rev. Mr. Fennell, Presbyterian minister, has the peculiar sympathy of his friends, from the fact that he had just spent his entire means in purchasing and beautifying his house which vas a total loss. The residents of this go ahead village undeterred by temporary calamity propose to commence the work of rebuilding their stores and houses at once."

Exaggerated reports of Small-Pox in this City.—The following paragraph is going the rounds of the papers:
"New York is filled with the small-pox. Its

form is viculent; that of the genuine confluent In some cases bodies have bee buried in wrappers, having nearly lost all

It is hardly necessary to remark that this is an exaggerated statement. There is no epidemic of any kind in the city; indeed, the mortality is only about the same as it was ten years ago, when the population was several bundred thousand less. The number of deaths taking refuge on heard the English mail steam

matter has been laid before the Commissioners of Health, who ordered the removpatients to the hospitals. In several the friends of the sick persons refused to per-mit this; and without an order of the Board of Health, which has not been convened, the removal cannot be compelled.

A Monument to Owen Loveiny,-A meeting was held at Princeton, Ill 1st inst., to organize an Owen Lovejoy Associa tion, the object of which is to raise land, erect a suitable monument to the memory the late Owen Lovejoy. After they had agree upon a plan of organization and elected board of officers, the Chairman annua over \$5,000 had already been raised. timated that 10,000 will be required, two thirds of which will probably be raised in gressional District.

FOREIGN.

Europe. The Nova Scotion, Approprian, Virginia, Etna, and China have arrivel. Ec. ropean news is to the 29th.

The news which was carried to Europe by the City of Washington, respecting the pregress of the campaign under Gen. Grant, was generally regarded as exceedingly disastrons to the rebel cause, and the rebel gotton loan had declined, thereupon, from 5 to 6 per cent. The qualities of Gen. Grant, as a constant der, are the subject of high eulogium, even in the Anglo-rebel papers. The privateer Georgia is announced for sale, at Liverpool, by private treaty. The pirates of the J. G. Garage were before the Court of Queen's Bench on a writ of habeas corpus, and were discharged-the Chief Justice, however, dissenting from the majority of the Court. The British ministry have taken a practical way of getting at the bottom of the difficulty respecting Laird's relael rams: they have been purchased on Gov. ernment account. It is not stated whether the executors of the late Pacha of Egypt or Laird himself gets the purchase meney. The Prince of Wales appeared as a public speaker, for the first time, at the Annual Banquet of the Royal Literary Fund. He is highly complimented, by all sections of the press, for the grace and tact, with which he disclarded the duties of Chairman.

The London Conference held another meeting on the 27th of May. It is believed that Austria, Prussia, Germany, and England will consent to the plan of France, to take a vote of the people of the Duchies. A large number of other reports are circulating, but they need confirmation. Lord Russell has made the important announcement in the House of Lords that the Queen is in no wise an obsacle in the way of giving effect to the Government policy, but cheerfully follows the whice of her responsible ministers. The Allied invaders are openly charged with virtually violating the terms of the armistice in their warlike preparations, and the exactions which continue to be made by the Prussian authorities on the inhabitants of Jutland. Measures are in progress at Berlin for the construction of a Schleswig-Holstein canal, to connect the North Sea with the Baltic. The Opinione, of Turin, of the 16th of May, says in regard to the Pope's illness, that it has increased to so alarming an extent that a secret bull has been issued, ordering a conclave composed only of the Cardinals present in Rome, for the election of a successor to Pius IX., before his death is announced to the public. The Emperor and Empress of the French were about to pay a visit to the King of Prussia. The death of the Duke of Malakoff is announced.

Mexico .- The new Emperor has not yet arrived. Meantime the "irrepressible conflict" between the French and Mexicans is by no means abated. Recent advantages gained by the Mexicans have greatly encou Juarez is determined to resist French usurpation to the last man. The Mexican forces are reported strong, and steadily increasing.

South America.—By the arrival at this port of the steamship Ocean Queen, from Aspinwall on the 27th ult., we have important in. telligence from the Pacific coast of South America, in reference to the effect of the recent proceedings of the Spanish Admiral and Commissioner in commencing war on Peru, by the seizure of the Chincha Islands and the attempt to seize the vessels of her navy in the part of Callao. The indigation and excitement were very great throughout all the republics of South America, and mass meetings had been held, at which the people, in enthusiastic terms, declared their intention to aid the Peruvian with both mea and noney in resenting the it sult and outrage of the Spanish officials. It Peru itself volunteering for the military so vice was occupying the attention of the near to the exclusion of almost every other man Men were rushing in the ranks with great en thusiasm, and it was expected that in a short time the Peruvan army would number on hundred thou-and men. The government of Chile had voted five millions of dellars an offered the services of its naval vessels in aid of the government of Peru. Senor Mozarredo the late Spanish Commissioner to Peru, a the was associated with the Spanish admit (Piezon) in the commission of the outrages, ha resigned his position and left for Spain. Da ing his stay in Panama, en route home a mo-collected and marched to the residence of th French Consul, where it was supposed he was staying. Not finding Senor Mazarredo then they offered insults to the Consul, and we guilty of disorderly acts, which will no don't lead to a call for reparation from the Empero Napoleon upon the government of Columnia Mazarredo was obliged to leave secretly, and was followed to Aspinwall by the sympathizers Fami

A LAYMAN'S

As other men I keep the hol And in the an I hold to one Nor laying on But only the

I hate all king For all the son Nor limps a be Nor wear's a s That makes hi I love my cour So dare not ke And after Free

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The papers :

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His name w n, as he sa nd Johnson l ferred bein his is the nar stomed to s as an uncle on James a noted far a's Cyclope should ha his account ers seeing, in master ke their time 45. He fo m of the g ald give hi wn when ers to thre n received

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Family Miscellany.

ALLYMAN'S CONFESSION OF FAITH. BY THEODORE TILTON.

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asa have creeds, so I have mine; Loly faith in God, in men, a single ministrant between, pe true church of all true souls; ldy zeal is neither bread nor wine, or of hands, nor holy oil, anointing of God's grace.

grand caste, and rank of birth's sofmen are sons of God; s a slave a yoke, nor czar a crown, is him less or more than just a man. marry, and her righteous cause; redom, may her bells ring Peace!

enan with a holy fire, re as priestess of my house; wondering awe before my babes, see me to a nobler life; friendship with my friend, I serve before myself: ose to tell a lie: a a lebt I cannot pay, love men ought to owe,

lav, before the blessed Heaven ambers of my soul. that Ghost to enter in.

ir confession of my faith! controlletions by my life ted for dve the written lie! not that who helpeta men, a mil fear not life nor death, me by Thy hand! Amen.
["Spirit of the Fair."]

AVE MY JESUS, NEVER.

ht forever.

TED THOM THE GERMAN.

es for me he died; caw me to him ever, t I will abide,

y Jesus never! e I stand acquitted then the earth I stay, as a to him committed keep until that day. dee my endeavor : service my endeavor: • leave my Jesus never!

feel the weight and sorrow Of my Phree-score years and ten het my eyes are darkened then, in the tread of life shall sever, eave my Jesus never!

welling in his presence holy, When m length I reach the place there with all the saints in glory I shall see his lovely face bothing now but bliss forever, will leave my Joseph when the

Not the earth with all its treasure Coald content this soul of mine, Not alone for heavenly pleasure, Doth my thirsty spirit pine: For its Savier yearning ever, will leave my Jesus never!

in that living fountain drinking, king always at his side, sould lead me without sinking sign the river's rushing tide; the plest to sing forever, eve my Jesus never!

" UNCLE JOHNSON."

IN MEMORIAM. popers are telling that a few days e bell in Ypsilanti, Mich., by one serenteen strokes, announced a veritable and venerable ante-Revoluy relic-a negro by the name of Har- the gate.' and massed away.

these strokes, as they told of infancy only a few, which at the same time reveal his strong, shrewd sense and piety. are and then of more than old One day while at work in h se years were thus marked,

much in our thoughts. We have known him well for several years, have often interested ecclesiastical meetand Sanday school conventions, as well

Because of these narrations many ction that he was a wonderful man, esly when remembering that he was a

unared years. disname was Johnson Harrison, the Haras he said, being his master's name, Because of this, he lohnson his own. erred being called 'Uncle Johnson,' and is the name by which I have been acmed to speak of him. His first master an uncle of President Harrison, and liv-James river, Virginia, and belonged noted family of that day. [See Apple-Cyclopedia. The bell indicating his hould have struck twice more, according account; for he says that he rememeing, in the old family Bible where ster kept the names of his servants r time of birth, opposite his name He forgets the month. In confirmthe great age which such figures give him, he states that he was a man when his master sent him out with s to throw 'fire-balls,' because news had received that the Declaration of Indeace had been signed. He stated also e was about thirty years old before he lowed to have a wife; that he lived his first wife fifty years; then for several s had no wife; and his last wife, who died years ago, said that she had lived with wenty-eight years. He also stated reedly that he was given his liberty partly ise he was more than one hundred years and so ought to go free. He loved to to hear from home ag'in." of Revolutionary times and incidents,

have been removed by referring to histor He certainly was a wonderful man as an 'ante-Revolutionary relic.'

But he was still more interesting and wonderful because of his religion. He accounted for his long life in part by saying that he did not work very hard; that for about sixty years his masters used to let him out about six months of each year, 'to blow de Gospel trumpet on de plantations round about, to make de slaves good and 'ligious; an' I tells ye, massa, when I was in my prime-say about eighty-I could blow de old trumpet so dat dey could hear me for miles.' He said that he was 'quite a chunk of a boy afore he hearn much about 'ligion-afore he hearn much about dis glorious Gospel.' Weeping.) 'Once in 'bout a year one of dem clergy dat com'd over de big water com'd round, and preached up all de funerals ob de slaves dat died sen he com'd afore, and sometimes we feels very bad den.' But after a little there came round, as he said, One ob de big men from de college in de Jarseys—and he telled us 'bout de matter werry solemn.' This it would seem was President Davies. 'Au' den dare com'd along dat man dat died, an' den com'd to life agin; and he telled de slaves bout dat, an' him teil more 'bout Jesus. O what was his name, I don't mind now.' I suggested -William Tennant? O yes, Massa Tennant! Glory be to God! I been trying to tink ob dat name now many years. I know'd I would know him in glory; but now I will call him by name jus as soon as I see him' [Weeping] 'After I hears him preach, how I did feel! When I was walking on de ground it would keep sayin' unworthy-unworthy; when I took a bit of bread, or a cap ob water, dey keep saying unworthy -- unworthy; when I goes into de fields, all de trees keep sayin'--unworthyneworthy; when I went into de yard, all de cattle kneel down afore dey lay down, and I hab neber din dat. O massa, I thought I would die. But bimeby dere com'd along a colored man, who telled me dat des no use o' my libin' dat way; and he telled me ob de passage dat says "Behold de Lamb ob God dat takes away de sins ob de world; "an' I went into de woods, an all night I cries, O Lamb of God, hab mercy on dis poor colored man; an' O Massa! jus as de light was coming ober de mountains ob ole Virginia, de light o' Jesus shined into dis poor soul; an' fro dat day onnow about a hundred years -- I've been tryin' to tell to saints and sinners round, what a dear Saviour I have found.'

Yes, and in his last years he could tell this in many ways: we have never known one whose heart would melt so soon at the mention of the name of Jesus. Not unfrequently in his devotions he would utter that dear name over and over, with tones and tears of gratitude and joy. For most of the time during the day he was alone, his wife, being about sixty years younger than himself, having gone out to work. Thus he seemed to have time and opportunity for communion with his Saviour; and often it did indeed seem as if 'the form of the fourth' was there.

One day when we called after he had been shouting, and singing, and crying for an hour or two, he broke out : 'O Massa, Jesus ha been here, and I taught I was in glory; but I will be dere bimeby.'

I said, you mean to be faithful to the end, Uncle Johnson?

'O Massa, I'se bound for de kingdom; I'se not been holding on all dis way to fail jus at

I can call to mind many interesting inciwere not there to experience the ef- dents concerning him; but let me mention

we have heard of the depar- ing and shouting, I said: You seem happy to day. 'Yes Massa, I'se jus tinking;' (and then his emotions prevented utterance.) 'I'se jus tinking dat ef de crumbs that fell from de Master's table, in dis world, am so good, wat will de GREAT LOAF in glory be! I tells wate circles, by narratives concerning ye, massa, da will be nuff and to spare dere.' At another time when he seemed very visited him, and have easily gained the happy, and I had heard him shout 'Lord Jesus, will dere be one for me?' I said, You are having a good time to-day? He answered, 'O, massa, I was meditatin about Jesus bein de Carpenter; an so he can make mansions for his people in glory. And then with uplifted face and with tears, he cried

> Once I said to him, 'Uncle Johnson, why don't you go to church once in awhile?' He answered, 'Massa, I wants to be dere, but I can't 'have.' 'You can't behave?' 'Well, massa, you knows, late years, de flesh be weak; an when dey 'gins to talk and sing about Jesus, I gin to fill up, and putty soon I has to hollor, and den dey say, "Carry dat man to de door, he 'sturb de meet-

out, 'O Jesus, will dar be one for me?'

'But you should hold in until you get home.'

'O massa, I can't hold in-I bust-I don't holler.'

Once, after hearing him pray and sing at midnight while a thunderstorm was passing, in the morning I said, 'Was that you shouting so last night?' 'Yes Massa, I spose.' 'Well, I thought the thunder made noise enough without your hallooing.'

He looked up, and with astonishment said: 'Massa, do you tink I's goin to lie dere on my bed like a great pig, when de Lord com'd along shakin de earth and de heavens? No, Massa, when I hears de thun'er coming, I says, "Ellen, Ellen, wake up here, we's goin

dd name and describe many of the hour or two, I went carefully to his door and suished men who were accustomed to saw him sitting at the end of his table, with his master's. Several times when we a humble repast before him, while his hands doubted his correctness, our doubts were lifted high in gratitude and praise. I

Ellen went a ay to her work, and so I gets me breakfast and den begins to say grace, an' O, Massa, de Lord am so good, seems I neber will be done sayin' grace !' What a rebake to those who sit down to their loaded tables with no thought of their Benefac-

Oace after he had been ill for a few days, I said, 'Uncle Johnson I thought your appointed time had about come.' 'O yes Massa, one day I t'ought I could see de dust ob de chariot coming ober de mountains ;an' den something said, "Hold on, Johnson, a little longer; I'll come round di-Yes, and I will hold on, if de Lord rectly." will, anoder hundred years, for I'm bound for Canaan.' And then he broke out sing-

But this I do find, we two am so jined

He'll not live in glory and leave me behind." One day Rev. Dr. H. called on him, with me. After conversation which surely the Doctor will never forget, he said, 'Well, Uncle Johnson, I must go,' and then taking him by the hand, said, 'Good-bye. I shall probably hear soon that you have gone over Jordan, but we will follow on.' The old man replied, 'Yes, Massa, a great many years ago young men like you tell me dat; and den, after a bit, I'd hear dey ha' gone, and I'm a pilgrim yet, but I always manages to send word.' 'Well, if I should die first what word would you send,' said Dr. H. 'O Massa, if you get home to glory afore I do (weeping), tell 'em to keep de table standin', for Johnson is holding on his way.

We dare not attempt to describe the scene we witnessed the evening his wife died; but, a few days after, we said to him, 'Don't you feel very lonely since Ellen left you?' He replied, 'O yes, but de Lord comes round ebery day, jus' as de nuss would, and gives me a taste ob de kingdom wid de spoon; but how I wants to get hold ob de dish !

But we will add no more, fearing that our article is already to long. We have not heard of the particulars of his death; but we feel confident that he was ready when the chariot came round, and that 'Its wheels rolled in fire' along the same way Elijah rode. As we have marked his manner of life we have often thought that 'One of the old prophets had risen again.' He had the faith of Abraham, the firmness of Daniel, the fire of Isaiah, the tears of Jeremiah, and he fasted and prayed like them all. His Fridays, for more than seventy years, had been rigidly observed as days of fasting and prayer-days in which, as he said, 'I says to de body, "stand back, I'se going to feed de soul to day." ' Those, he said, were days in which 'I spreads de great things before de Lord and begs.' But his prayers are ended, ard to us there is a sadness in such a fact when we remember how often he said 'I puts up for you ebery day.'

We feel that a great and good man has fallen in Israel. A great head and a great heart -the one less cultivated than the other-have gone to heaven. Scores of those who have called upon him and marked his peculiarities, will rejoice in the doctrine of heavenly recognitions. G. L. G.

-- N. Y. Evangelist.

LOVE AFTER MARRIAGE.

A certain divine is accustomed to pray at weddings: "O Lord, may these persons be more assiduous to please each the other in time to come than they have been in the past; and may the love that has begun in them be carefully nurtured till their hearts shall be one in nature as they now are in name

Since no original stock of any essential of mate. life can continue without replenishing, there is evidently need for the culture of love, and we fear there is need for the prayer.

desires from preying on the object of its love.

For the growth of love, the higher the aim the richer the growth. The miser's highest aim we fear there is need for the prayer.

We are not among those who regard love as an involuntary spasm, seizing an individual at sight of the object, and becoming so violent that no distance of time or space, or even perversity of the object itself, can cool its ardor. That is the invention of novelists for the sake of enhancing the interest of their story. In commanding us to love him, God proclaims the fact that our affections are under our control. Their indulgence or restraint is in our power. For, though this faculty is supreme over any other one, it is not supreme over all. Ranking above reason, imagination, or will, in joyfulness, in infl ence on other faculties, and in likeness to God, whose essence is love, it is yet subject to reason and will combined. Else we should not be able to love God on being

commanded to do so. Yet we would not be ranked with those who regard love as an upper degree of respect, weighed by the reason, though we should much rather be ranked among this class than the other. Love is not blind, No one ever fell in love with a statue, except an early Grecian sculptor, and he was not satisfied till Jove flushed it with life. And besides, the whole is a fable. Love may be very mighty to conquer, but it needs reason, for an engineer, or it lays siege to castles in the air, and flings itself against impregnable fortresses at their most invulnerable

Love originates in a view of some desired good. Every developed human being has a hunger of soul which the love of parents, brothers and sisters cannot fill. But when the desired food appears, if before that appetite has been overgrown or perished, it is seen, desired, sought. The reason why is, because it appears good, fills a hunger. Hence to continue to be desired and sought it must continue to seem good, if possible increasingly so. When individuals are seeking to develop this love in others toward themselves, instinct says, Suppress all bad qualities; banish for the time even disagreea
through suffering is a law of our terrestrial contained. Virtue is more than Innocence: it implies a moral being, tempted, tested, and proof against pose is a perpetual burden.

the back ground. Speech must be refined, self denial shown, pleasant surprises planned, a conformity to the habits and tastes of the other sought.

Shall not that sunshine that makes love germinate make it grow? Is it more important to have love begin than continue? Little matter, indeed, whether one be pleasing when his society can be cast off, and is only occasional at most. Great matter when society is constant and destinies are united.

Instead of making affection wilt, married life is more friendly to its growth than the life before. Acquaintance shows opportunities enables one to judge what will be inevitably pleasing; gives at least one more anniversary to celebrate, and opens a thousand ways of culturing love. When habits have been learned it is easy to fall in with them, and be always a pleasure; easy to antagonize and be an irritant. A man may pride himself on his punctuality, and the ten minutes he is kept waiting are me ments of torture to him. He may keep a Christian mastery of his temper, but it does not exalt the one occasioning the struggle. The detainer may have an excellent excuse; it is torture nevertheless. Had the answer to "Ready?" been "Rady, sir," he would have stepped forth pleased enough with one who excels in this favorite virtue. Every woman has a high regard for neatness; it is a part of her constitution. Before marriage the anxious suitor was very carefully on this point. His appearance was diligently inspected. Every stain and taint of the weed carefully purged from his lips. great issue was at stake, a great prize to be won. But a greater issue is at stake after a marriage, and he who neglects the means by which love was kindled may find himself shivering in the chill of indifference.

The ardor of love is proportioned to the de-gree of unity established and maintained beween the parties. Not organic unity, whereby identic masses are laid in juxtaposition, resulting in one homogeneous mass, differing in nothing but size from the separate masses; but chemical unity, whereby two different substances intermingle and unite, producing a resul different from either, superior to both. Oxygen and hydrogen unite in forming living water. In the first unity only adjacent particles adhere, and philosophers tell us that a stratum of sep-erating air lies between. In the second unity every particle of the one embraces particles of the other in loving oneness. To make this union perfect ontside issues must be avoided, elements uncongenial to either kept away. If part of the oxygen is absorbed by iron the result is a less pure water, and a portion of that rare hydrogen, finding no opposite combining particles, is exhaled away. While following differticles, is exhaled away. While following different avocations, according to the different natures, the results sought should always be a common, never an individual result. achievement, every honor, every plan must lie on the family altar. The first dawning of love was an interest of one in the other. awaken that interest was the great object of the suitor. Make that interest all pervading, and the begun affection shall lead one to leave father and mother and cleave to the other.

Love, resulting from a common interest in common aims, is proportioned to the excellence of those aims. Some toil for their daily bread, and love is pleasant. Others toil together for the means of nurturing children, and from the higher aim flows a richer love. Sanctify that toil by making all its aims part of God's work, and the love is divine. Josephine loved, almost worshipped Napoleon, while together they la-bored for the good of France. But love re-ceived a staggering blow, from which it par-tially recovered in her, never in him, when the aim was lowered and the unity broken by the attempted elevation of one alone. Othello told his perils, and Desdemona loved him for the dangers he had passed. But that love would have turned to pity or contempt if his soul had shrivelled itself to the cowardly aims of Iago. Macbeth and his wife were much attached to each other, but by what tie? That of a selfish ambition that scrupled not at means. Such affection as a vulture has for his murderous Not enough to prevent that vulture's

is getting; the worlding's, pleasure; the prodigal's, profusion; the Christian's, God's service. performance of Christian duties, even though the progress be stammered, the testimonies embarrassed, and the gifts large enough to cause much self-denial, exalt one in the and love of a Christian companion. Religion is meant to both intensify and hallow human loves. The altar of divine worship is the best shrine of human affection. A union with God is the surest means of human oneness .- Chr. Advocate and Journal.

OUR CASKET.

AN HONEST SOUL.

An honest soul is like a ship at sea, That sleeps at anchor when the ocean's calm But when she rages, and the wind blows high, He cuts his way with skill and majesty .-Beaumont and Fletcher.

Love's holy flame forever burneth : From heaven it came, to heaven returneth, Too oft on earth a troubled quest. At times deceived, at times opprest. It here is tried, and purified, Then hath in heaven its perfect rest It soweth here with toil and care, But the harvest time of love is there.

GRACE is only nature blossomed out: It is no ew thing grafted in upon nature, but nature won and warmed into its true growth; that for which the God of nature made it.—H. W. Beecher.

A PRAYER .-- O. Lord! let me have ANYTHING but thy frown; and ANYTHING with thy smile! Cecil's Remains.

ELOQUENCE is vehement simplicity.- 11. TRUE WEALTH.

None is pure but the mean in mind, the timorous, the weak and unbelieving:

None is wealthy but the affluent in soul, who is satisfied and floweth over .- Tupper.

Joy never feasts so high As when the first course is of misery.—Suckling. GREAT TRIALS are great opportunities. "Perfect

said, 'You seem happy this morning?' 'O yes; ble idiosyncrasies; let unpopular habits take the seductions of appetite or ambition. We are never so sure of God's beneficence as when we feel His chastening rod, and know that afflictions are but less obvious mercies .-- II. Greeley.

> It is not what we read, but what we remember hat makes us learned. It is not what we intend but what we do that makes us useful. It is not a few faint wishes, but a life-long struggle, that makes us valient.--H. W. Bescher.

WE SHOUD NOT ALLOW the woes of the world to affect us further than to make our hearts tender in sympathy, and our hands active in ministry.—

Titcomb.

When the breaking day is flushing All the East, and light is gushing Upward through the horizon's haze, Sheaf-like, with its thousand rays Spreading, until all above Overflows with joy and love, And below, on earth's green bosom, All is changed to light and blossom Then, O Father! Thou alone, From the shadow of thy throne To the sighing of my breast, And its rapture answerest: All my thoughts, with upward winging, Batho where Thy own light is springing.

ABOUT OYSTERS.

Oysters are of many different colors. In Spain, they are red or russet; in Illyria, hey are brown, nay, black. Conceive the amazement of any legal gentleman lunching at Prosser's and coming suddenly upon a black Illyrian. While those in the Red Sea are of all the colors of the rainbow. That Parisian delicacy, the green oyster, is brought from Brittany; but the same hues can be induced in others by putting them in pits where the water is about three feet deep in the salt-marshes, and where the sun has great power. The propagation of the oyster is effected by self-produced eggs, which it bears within in the form of a greenish milky juice, which it easts as spat in May. This liquor, if viewed through a microscope, will be found to contain multitudes of small oysters, covered with shells, and swimming nimbly about—one hundred and twenty of which extend about an inch. Indeed, one million of young have been discovered in a single oyster. Guarded by two tender shells, they move freely in the sea when ejected by their parent, until by means of a glutinous substance, they fix themselves so fast to some object that they can be separated only by force. These young are very soon able to produce others--some say so soon as four months after their birth-but even when as large as a crown-piece, the shell is still very tender and thin, and it is only after some years that they become fit for human food. The age of an oyster is not to be discovered like that of a horse. You may look a gift-oyster in the mouth, and indeed it is expected you should do so, but not upon the shell. It bears its years upon its back. Everybody who has handled an oyster-shell must have observed that it seems as if composed of successive layers of plates overlapping each oth-

er. These are technically called "shoots," and each of them marks a year's growth, so that, by counting them, we can determine at a glance the year when the creature came into the world. Up to the time of its maturity, the shoots are regular and successive; but after that time, they are piled one above the other, so that the shell becomes more thickened and bulky. Judging from the great thickness to which some oystershells have attained, this mollusk is capable, if left to its natural changes unmolested, of reaching a great age. Indeed, fossil oysters have been seen, of which each shell was nine inches thick, whence they may have been concluded to have been more than 100 years old. It seems wonderful that creatures so prolific and so long-lived should ever cost so much as a shilling a dozen as they do at the present time even with a French roll and butter included.

The offspring generally remain near the mother, which accounts for those huge oysterbanks, in the sea, which in some places have attained such magnitude as to cause ships to be wrecked upon them. Their immense proportions may be best understood by inspection of the fossil oyster-bed near Reading. These fossils, which must have lain there from time infinemorial, have just the same shape and substance as recent oyster-shells; and the bed occupies six acres, forming a stratum two feet thick. The fossil oysterbanks raised by earthquakes along the western shores of South America, measure from sixty to eighty feet in depth, are often forty miles in length, and in many cases, stretch about two miles into the interior .-Chambers' Journal.

LEISURE.

Leisure is never so enjoyable as when it comes unexpectedly, like the visit of a long absent friend. And to be sweet it must be short. Too much of it palls upon the appetite. Luxurious as a warm bath, it is also as enervating. He who finds himself suddenly possessed of leisure in great plenty will do well to dispose of the bulk of it as soon as possible by setting himself something serious to do. Systematized activity is one of the best preservatives against "dull care." Leisure is but a sauce of life, which helps to make work more palatable and digestiblethe one apart from the other soon becomes disgusting. Men of leisure, as they are called, are most commonly restless, fidgety, and unhappy men. The kindest thing which can be done to them is to deprive them, if possible, by hook or by crook, of the greater part of their leisure. At first sight it does not seem so, but a very short experience will prove that it is so. Much leisure infers the absence of a purpose, and life without a pur-

OUR WASTE-BASKET.

A YANKEE has invented a new and cheap plan for boarding. One of his boarders mesmerizes the rest, and then eats a hearty meal -the mesmerized being satisfied from sym-

A LADY, on being asked to join the Daughters of Temperance, replied that she intended to join one of the Sons in the course of

It is a paradox that loose habits generally stick tighter to a fellow than any other

Curran was once asked by one of his brother judges, "Do you see anything ridiculous in this wig?" "Nothing but the head," was the reply.

The first human sin was improper indulgence in eating, and it has been one of the chief sins ever since.

The man who is always buying merely because he can buy at low rates, had better commit suicide if he happens to find poison

Many persons confess their depravity, but defend their conduct. They are wrong in general, but right in particular.

Small talents are needed as well as large ones; there are occasions where a candle would be as useful as the sun.

Boston gent gives lady his seat in a crowded car. In a few moments says to lady, "Did you speak?" Startled lady says, "No!" Boston gent says, "Excuse me. Thought you said Thankee."

A man's stomach is his weak part. The weapons to subdue him the most readily are found in the kitchen.

We commence by being in love with our own thoughts, and follow by seeking to make others worship them.

Excelent for these hard times is the name of a St. Louis firm-Grinn & Barrett!

What one of the heavenly bodies is supposed to have the most specie? The moon; because it is continually changing quarters.

Fashionable society has generally two faults-first, in being hollow-headed, and second, in being hollow-hearted.

Most persons espouse a party as an Indi an espouses a wife-not to serve it, but to make it serve them.

We are never satisfied that a lady understands a kiss, unless we have it from her

The question has been asked, why it is considered impolite for gentlemen to go into the presence of ladies in their shirt sleeves, while it is considered in every way correct for the ladies themselves to appear before gentlemen without any sleeves at all.

There is many a slip between the cup and the lip, but there are many more slips after the cup has been drained by the lips.

FOR THE CHILDREN.

THE LITTLE BOY'S BURIAL

BY W. C. BRYANT.

Two dark-eyed maids, at shut of day Sat where a river rolled away, With calm, sad brows, and raven bair; And one was pale—and both were fair.

Bring flowers, they sang, bring flowers unblown; Bring forest bloom of name unknown; Bring budding sprays from wood and wild, To strew the bier of Love, the child.

Close softly, fondly while ye weep, His eyes, that Death may seem like sleep : And fold his hands in sign of rest, His waxen hands across his breast

And make his grave where violet's hide Where star-flowers strew the rivulet's side, And blue-birds in the misty Spring Of cloudless skies and Summer, sing

Place near him, as ye lay him low, His idle shafts, his loosened bow; The silken fillet, that around His waggish eyes in sport he bound.

But we shall mourn him long, and miss His ready smile-his ready kiss, The prattle of his little feet. Sweet frowns and stammered phrases sweet.

And graver looks, serene and high, A light of heaven in that young eye, All these shall haunt us till the heart Shall ache and ache, and tears will start. The bow, the band shall fall to dust.

The shining arrow waste with rust; And all of Love that earth can claim. Be but a memory and a name.

Not thus his nobler part shall dwell A prisoner to his narrow cell; But he whom now we hide from men, In the dark ground, shall live again—

Shall break the clods-a form of light, With nobler mien and purer sight, And in th' eternal glory stand Highest and nearest God's right hand.

SYLVESTER THE HUNCHBACK, AND CLARENCE.

BY MRS. PHEBE H. PHELPS.

Oh, if I could only get a place in a store !' said Sylvester to his mother; "how glad I should be! Then I could earn as much as if I were strong."

beart, study well this winter, and perhaps a chance may open to you. Remember that chance may open to you. Remember that God puts us where he wants us to be.'

Sylvester was a hunchback. He had been a feeble, rickety infant, and had become sadly misshappen. He was still much feebler than other boys of his age, and had no hope of ever being strong enough for hard labor. But he was poor, and the only son of a widow, and must do something, must do all that he could. He had set his heart upon a place in one of the village stores, where he might get fair wages for light work. With this constantly in mind, he did study hard. giving special attention to his writing and arithmetic; trying to fit himself for the place he wanted. The school committee had offered a prize to the best writer, to be given at the end of the term; and many of the boys were desirous to obtain it, for it was understood that it was to be an elegant pocketknife. This was just the thing to please their young fancies, and the boys were full of queries and wonderments as to what would be the make of the knife, whether it would bave four blades or six; whether an ivory, a pearl, or a shell handle.

Sylvester said little, for he was habitually quiet; but no other boy in the school was more desirous of obtaining the knife, not merely for his own sake, or the honor of winning it; but because it might help him obtain the situation be wanted.

He was a good writer, but not the best in the school. Clarence Ward was generally admitted to be the best; but Sylvester thought it possible that by great effort and diligence he might equal, if not surpass Clarence before the end of the school term, when the prize would be given. Was not Sylvester selfish in being so desirous to obtain the prize when Clarence desired it? The boy who excelled at the end of the term, not at the beginning, would be the one deserving of the prize, and Sylvester's motives in wanting it were such as to justify him in every honest effort to obtain it.

Clarence sat near him, and saw his efforts to improve in writing. He saw the great care which he bestowed upon his writingbook, and his undivided attention to it during writing hour. He saw him also in spare moments practicing on difficult letters; and one day, near the end of the term, when they were going home from school together, he said to Sylvester, "I think you'll get the prize for writing; I hope you will."

"Why, what makes you think so ?" asked Sylvester, with much interest.

"Because you've taken so much pains, and your writing-book looks finely. I never saw so neat a book before."

I've tried to come up with you, Clarence, but I'm afraid I haven't: What makes you

hope I'll get the prize ?" "Because I do," said Clarence, not wishing to tell Sylvester that it was because he was unfortunate, poor, fatherless, and hunchbacked, that he wanted him to have it;

wanted him to have something. "But if I should get the prize you!!! lose it," said Sylvester.

Of course; and I'm willing to," answered Clarence.

That's generous, and no mistake," said Sylvester; and his heart was warmer, and his life seemed fresher, as he walked beside the unselfish, compassionate, loving boy. The warm sunlight was never so welcome and refreshing to the murmuring earth, as the light and warmth of a sunny, loving nature to the darkened heart.

"Why Clarence, do you really think I write better than you do?" asked Sylvester, returning to the subject after they had walked on a little farther.

"I do. Let's compare books to-morrow. and see.

The next day the two boys compared writing was marked by ease, skill, and finish; Sylvester's by care, effort, accuracy, and neatness. The boys could not decide who wrote the best. Sylvester said Clarence did. Clarence praised Sylvester's writing, and tried to think it best. Sylvester said it was well that they were not the school committee ; but Clarence said he wished he was a com-

mittee of one to decide the matter, for he knew who deserved the prize, and who

would get it then.

After all, he was somewhat afraid that Sylvester would not get it, for the master evidently liked his writing best, and the committee might. But Sylvester must have it. It must not be otherwise. Could he do nothing to secure it to him? What could he do? Write the half-dozen remaining lessons, badly? That would not be right. It would not be just towards the teacher, who had a deep interest in the improvement and excellence of his scholars. He wished he could withdraw from the trial, but he knew that the teacher would not permit him to do so. He thought of staying at home, but he knew his parents would not allow this.

He was full of these perplexing thoughts and feelings during the writing hour next after the comparison of the books, and, as a consequence, wrote a very poor copy; one even poorer than the first, and standing next his best, the result of a winter's progress, as it did, it seemed all the poorer therefor. At first, Clarence was distressed at its appearance ; but after a moment's thought, he was glad, for he felt that the prize was now sure for Sylvester. His own chance was gone. His desire that Sylvester should have the prize, had secured it to him, even without

his intention. . The long-expected and important day arrived, the last day of school, when the classes were to be examined, and the writing-prize given. What excitement and expecta-tion now! Notwithstanding his quiet and

"I wish you could, my son; but keep up subdued manner, no one was so deeply intered next him. He heard his deep breathing, and forgot himself in his sympathy for him. He was rejoiced at the promptness and cor-rectness with which Sylvester solved the problems and answered the questions on rules and principles proposed to him. No one in the class answered so well except Clarence himself.

When the regular examination was concluded, one of the committee, an old fashioned gentleman, asked for the solution of what he termed "an extra;" one which he had puzzled over and solved when a boy. It was in rhyme:.

"If the third of six be three, What will the fourth of twenty be?"

It was given out to the whole class. Half a dozen boys, with scarcely a moment's thought, declared the answer to be "five." And when told that they were incorrect, insisted that it must be so, since four times five are twenty; and seemed greatly perplexed when further told, "Not when a third of six is three."

Clarence heard Sylvester breathing hard, and counting in a low whisper. He would not count himself. If Sylvester could solve the question correctly, let him have the credit alone ; if not, he certainly would not surpass him, even if he could.

He was waiting for Sylvester's answer, when the teacher spoke-

"Can't you answer that, Clarence !" "No sir," answered Clarence.
"Can you, Sylvester?"

Sylvester's countenance lighted up. He had just solved the question. "Seven and a half, sir, is the answer."

"Right, right," exclaimed the old gentleman who had propounded the question; "I'm glad there's one boy can answer it."

The writing books were then brought forward and examined. A few rapid glances and most of them were laid aside. Three or four underwent a careful examination. Finally there were only two, which occupied the attention of the committee-Sylvester's and Clarence's. It was evident that the committee were not agreed in opinion concerning these, one giving the preference to Clarence's, another to Sylvester's, and the third, the old gentleman who had given out 'the extra," was to make the decision.

How anxiously Sylvester waited! So did Clarence-noble boy! He had thought Sylvester sure of the prize when he had spoiled his copy, but now he had fears; people differ so much in taste and opinion. The old gentleman rose with an assured and satisfied manner to announce the decision. There was a profound silence. The interest among the boys was intense. Sylvester and Clarence scarcely breathed.

"I rise," said the old gentleman "on behalf of the school committee, to express their gratification with the general deportment and attainments of the pupils of this school. They have been particulary gratified with great pleasure to announce that the prize for writing is awarded to Sylvester Bates."

There was now a general whispering. Sylvester's face grew red; he could scarce believe his own senses, he had so much honor. Clarence was full of rejoicing.

Sylvester was called forward to receive the prize. No one despised the poor hunchback, then; no one smiled at his misshapen form ; no one even pitied him ; but many envied his success, his triumph. Sylvester took the prize, bowed low, in thanks, and returned to his seat. There was, at least, one bright, rich, satisfying moment for the poor, stricken, denied boy. He handed the prize to Clarence, whispering in a low but heartily greatful tone, "I owe it to you. Thank

you, Clarence." It was such a knife as had been expected, books. They wrote differently. Clarence's and fully equaled the most glowing anticipations of its excellence, being pearl-handled, silver-plated, and six-bladed; two large blades, three small ones, and a file blade; a very beautiful and valuable knife. No other boy in the school had such a one, nor even hoped for such a one before manhood.

> vester and Clarence were walking home together, Sylvester addressed Clarence : Why, Clarence, I never saw such a boy as you before. You seem as glad that I received the knife as if you had received it vourself.

"I am more so." The teacher joined them.

said.

boy, embarrassed and blushing; unused to congratulations, his experience having been one of severe suffering and endurance, with

The master turned to Clarence. "But Clarence, couldn't you solve that puzzle ?"

"Did you try ?"

'Clarence is generous ; too generous to claim

"Ah ! is that so ? And you are just and generous enough to acknowledge it. I am glad that some of my boys excel in the moral as well as the mental. I am glad that they have learned to 'be kindly affectioned one to another, in honor preferring one another.' Why, boys, I cannot express to you my

pleasure at this new development of merit. unselfish disposition."

When the school was dismissed, and Syl-

"Well, Sylvester, I congratulate you," he "You came off with flying colors. You were the hero of the day.'

"Thank you, sir," said the poor, deformed little satisfaction or success.

"I don't know, sir."

"No, sir."

"Why not ?"

Clarence said nothing, Sylvester answered, his due. I owe him all my honors."

"It is better than all your school attainments and honors. I might envy you, Sylvester, so noble, so unselfish a comrade as Clarence, did I not envy Clarence his noble, PRICES CURRENT.

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